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Problems regarding farm laborers in Fresno County, California, solutions to their problems, and their future needs were studied. Research teams utilized Welfare Department records to analyze the characteristics and composition of particular groups of laborers. Appropriate literature was studied; workers were interviewed and observed in various situations; representatives of growers, labor contractors, employment services, and other agencies working with farm laborers were also interviewed.

Major findings dealt with characteristics of the laborers, their future needs, patterns of employment, housing, income, and law enforcement. Most farm laborers were permanent State and county residents and no longer migrant. Although farms were being increasingly mechanized, a cheap labor supply prolonged the realization of full mechanization. The use of contract labor increased greatly. Few laborers were covered by social security because contractors did not send in payroll taxes. There was little large-scale provision of free housing by ranchers. Single men in the day-haul pattern of work usually lived in inexpensive boarding houses. More and more family groups of farm workers moved into urban fringe slum housing. Average family income was $1,990, with 83 percent of the families earning $3,000 per year or less. A serious shortage of law enforcement personnel was reported in rural areas, and lawlessness was prevalent in rural and in urban slum areas.

Recommendations made for further studies included studies of a school program aimed at changing value-attitude systems of farm workers' children, a study of the effects of a ranch operation in which group members with advanced training and education returned to live with their original group as leaders, and a pilot program of educational scholarships. Steps should be taken to improve the income, housing, education, police and fire protection, and health services to farm laborers and their families.

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A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A STUDY OF FARM LABORERS IN FRESNO COUNTY

FROM JANUARY 1, 1959 TO JULY 1, 1959

ED002696

by

William C. Beatty, Jr.

Patricia Pickford

Thomas M. Brigham

for

The Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee

(A Rosenberg Foundation Project)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE
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A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON A STUDY OF FARM LABORERS IN FRESNO COUNTY FROM JANUARY 1, 1959 TO JULY 1, 1959

PREFACE

This is a report of the Staff to the Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee, Inc., and the Rosenberg Foundation of a study made of farm laborers in Fresno County in the first half of 1959. The original outline of the study was entitled, "A Pilot Project for Upgrading of Migratory or Seasonal Agricultural Workers and Their Families." In the process of the study the Staff discovered that the number of migratory agricultural workers was apparently falling; agricultural workers appear to have a significant cluster of socio-economic problems but for most of them the problems seem to be related to settling and living conditions in general, rather than migratory patterns as they were in the past. Therefore, the conclusion has been made that these workers should be now considered not as primarily migratory but should all be studied as farm workers.

This report is divided into three primary sections: first, an introduction on the aims and purposes of the study; secondly, study procedures and results or what we found; thirdly, recommendations or what we think should be done. It should be mentioned that from the original project plan the study here reported was to serve as Phase One. Following is a quotation from the "outline" of the original project:

> Phase One is an exploratory phase of intensive research and sociological survey designed to develop a "profile" of a typical migratory worker including his value system. This phase should not take longer than six months, although if sufficient and scientifically acceptable materials are available, this phase of the project could take less time.

The Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee selected as Staff members three full-time faculty members of Fresno State College, an anthropologist (Beatty), a sociologist-social worker (Brigham), and a social welfare specialist (Pickford) responsible for carrying out Phase One. The Staff selected Mrs. Mabel Hunt as project secretary and hired and trained a team of interviewers including upper-division and graduate students at Fresno State College and professional workers in social agencies in the Fresno area. The Staff wishes to acknowledge the invaluable help of Mrs. Hunt and the interviewers without whose industrious cooperation the study would have been impossible. Among the interviewers an especially valuable role was played by Mr. William Davis, a graduate student and now a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at the University of Arizona. Furthermore, the Staff wishes to extend its thanks for support and warm cooperation to the Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee, the Committee Chairman, Mr. Tom O'Neill, Mrs. Mina Teilman, Committee Vice Chairman, the Steering Subcommittee from the Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee, the Fresno Community Council (especially Mr. Edward Dutton, Assistant Director), and the Rosenberg Foundation. We also wish to thank Dr. Arnold Joyal, President of Fresno State College and the College Administration for approving our participation in this study and giving us all possible assistance. Recognition should also go to Mrs. Hubert Wyckoff of Watsonville, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, who worked long and assiduously to help bring about this study.

William C. Beatty, Jr.
Patricia Pickford
Thomas M. Brigham

INTRODUCTION--AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

After several years of concern with migrants and their problems, the Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee, a group of citizens, concerned professional people and ranchers, conceived a plan for a long-term project concerned with helping migratory agricultural workers adjust to the community and in turn with helping the community adjust to these workers. This project was conceived of as two parts, Phase One to consist of a relatively short (six-months) study of farm laborers in Fresno County to develop certain basic information about these people and to determine the approach that a prolonged and exhaustive project might take. This prolonged project, referred to as Phase Two, was thought of as being possibly a five-year action-research program. The purpose of Phase One can perhaps most clearly be stated by referring to the original wording which the Committee developed to describe the project:

Phase One

1. Basic Survey of the problem-development of a sociological baseline
    - 1.1 Study and survey the literature, previous studies and reports on migratory workers.
    - 1.2 Sample workers by interviews, questionnaires, observations, etc.
    - 1.3 Determine the core "value system" of the migratory worker in order to determine his motivation, areas of resistance to change, areas where change is possible, best methodology to be employed to innovate changes, level of expectations.
        - 1.31 Mexican
        - 1.32 Negro
        - 1.33 Anglo
2. From the Basic Survey develop a "profile" of a typical migratory worker as developed from the "value system" of each of the sub-cultural groups as outlined in 1.3 above.
3. Develop program objectives which include the "felt needs" of the worker as expressed in the sample interview, questionnaire, etc.

As the Staff considered the approach to Phase One, it became obvious that a general sense of goal and direction was needed. The conclusion which seemed to indicate the direction the study should take might be summarized as follows: (1) What is the problem in regard to farm laborers in Fresno County? (2) What is now being done? (3) What additionally should be done, especially involving any on-going work and involving any helping agencies or programs or services now working in the county?

It is important to note that very early in the project, as indicated above, the anticipated focus on migratory workers was not developing as the study uncovered the fact that fewer and fewer were migratory in the traditional sense. It is also important to point out that after an initial focus on ethnic differences among the three major groups studied, the Staff and the Steering Subcommittee found it necessary to put more emphasis on living and working conditions of all farm laborers while still preserving as much as possible an awareness of cultural differences. It was the feeling of Staff and consultants as the study developed that there was more validity to a consideration of farm laborers in general as a separate sub-cultural group than there was in attempting to break down in too extensive detail each of the ethnic groups as unique sub-cultures.

From the plan outlined in Phase One of the original statement of the Pilot Project, the team did the following: (1) studied appropriate literature including previous studies, reports, and observations of migratory workers and made abstracts of those dealing especially with value-attitude systems; (2) interviewed workers in camps, waiting to get work, and in other situations; observed workers in the fields, in their homes, and waiting to get employment; interviewed representatives of growers, labor contractors, employment services, and other agencies working with farm laborers; (3) tried to determine elements of the value system of the farm workers in Fresno County by interviews with three different groups of farm workers, including one series of extremely comprehensive life histories; (4) from workers interviewed, developed information around which generalizations were made about each of the sub-groups; (5) as the study progressed, picked out the areas of needs of both the workers and the community (these are referred to in the final section on recommendations).

At the outset of the study, it became evident to the research team that it was going to be necessary to work closely with representatives of the total overall Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee, with ranchers and grower representatives, with agency workers, and with the possibility of consultation from expert sources. Therefore, the team requested the overall Committee to appoint a small Steering Subcommittee which would be more flexible, more able to meet on relatively short notice, helpful to the team members in thinking through decisions, and of use in interpreting back to the total Committee the on-going activities of the study. The overall Committee did appoint such a Steering Subcommittee to work with the research team. The research team and the Steering Subcommittee agreed to have at least one grower representative on this Steering Subcommittee; Mr. Ray Provost, Vice-President in Charge of Grower Relations of Producers Cotton Oil, agreed to serve in this capacity, although pointing out his time limitations. The team arranged for meetings with the staff members of the Fresno Community Council as a major means of arranging for communication and meeting with representatives of both public and private agencies and services currently working with the farm labor population. (The Fresno Community Council has at present an Assistant Director, Mr. Edward Dutton, whose major responsibility is to aid in the community organization process in areas outside of Fresno city within Fresno County.) In addition, the team decided to maintain direct relationship with certain helping agencies and services and to initiate interviews and meetings with others. After some deliberation about the use of expert consultants, the team was able to secure the services of Dr. Ralph Beals, Professor of Anthropology at UCLA, Dr. Bernard Siegel, Professor of Anthropology at Stanford University, Miss Annie Clo Watson, retired Executive Director at the International Institute of San Francisco, an authority on the acculturation process, and Mr. Bard McAllister, field representative with farm laborers for American Friends Service Committee.

The time line for the plan evolved by the Staff and the Steering Subcommittee was established in January and was to proceed in this fashion:

(1) A meeting of the total Committee at which the plan for the study would be presented and the Committee would have an opportunity to comment, question, or suggest;

(2) Preliminary interviews with members of the overall Committee and other people who had long been working with the problem;

(3) The start of gathering data from sources most immediately available to get as much quick and specific information about the current status of farm laborers as possible;

(4) Meeting with the Steering Subcommittee to consider the information gathered so far and to plan for a first conference with the expert consultants, as well as another meeting of the total Committee;

(5) A 3-day conference with the consultants which would involve a presentation of the problem to them and some of the overall Committee members, some local agency representatives, and a presentation of information so far acquired by the research team; this meeting would also be used as a basis for helping determine directions and specific steps to be taken as the study progressed;

(6) A review of the study plan and approach and the institution of proceedings according to decisions made after the consultation;

(7) A meeting of the overall Committee to give to them a progress report and allow also for discussion;

(8) Additional data gathering (by the use of trained interviewers) from

individual farm laborers in all ethnic groups and from all types of farm employment settings;

(9) Meeting with the Steering Subcommittee to report preliminary information being gathered from more detailed interviews of farm workers and variations from the original directions of the study and to discuss the scheduling of the return conferences of the consultants in June, as well as to clarify the form and nature of the final report which would be prepared for Phase One;

(10) The completion and summarization of the extensive individual histories;

(11) Second conference with the consultants for the purpose of getting their assistance in analyzing materials obtained and in considering recommendations which might come from the study.

During the initial contacts with members of the Committee, the study team decided to focus on 3 major groups in its attempts to get factual information, attitudes, and some indications of likely future trends and developments. These 3 groups are: (1) the various helping agencies, services, or programs; (2) the growers and their representatives; (3) the laborers themselves. The first group included public health personnel (largely public health nurses and sanitarians), public welfare workers, agricultural extension staff, religious social-service workers, employment department staff, and school personnel including teachers, administrators, child welfare and attendance workers. From these 3 groups the team hoped to acquire basic factual information in answer to these questions:

1. How many migratory laborers are there now and how does this compare with previous years?
2. What major ethnic groups are included and have there been changes in this composition?

3. What differences exist in performance of the major ethnic groups? In stability or transiency? In skills or educability?
4. What apparent trends exist in terms of total numbers and group composition for the next few years? Is there any noticeable trend among the laborers to settle down and stay put?
5. Is it desirable to break the migratory cycle and keep the needed workers here? Desirable to all three groups, the helping agencies, the growers and the laborers themselves? Is there any variation in how the different ethnic groups among the laborers react to this?
6. If the answer to #5 is even a qualified affirmative, how can the migratory cycle be broken?
7. If the answer to # 5 is essentially negative, how can the migratory cycle be maintained with the major problems at least ameliorated?
8. Is there any useful avenue of exploration in the apparent (but needing much more investigation) tendency for some formerly migrant laborers to gather in rural-urban fringe areas on a more permanent (than camps) basis with some "commuting" to ranches for work and others seeking employment in the city? Is the tendency common to all of the ethnic groups?

STUDY PROCEDURES AND RESULTS--WHAT WE FOUND

Emergency Relief Applicants, Public Health Workers, Employer and Camp Interviews

As a result of conferences involving Mr. Reed K. Clegg, the Director of the Fresno County Department of Public Welfare, the research team discovered that in the first few months of the winter the Welfare Department had a surplus food dispensing program for which large numbers of farm laborers were applicants. The study team accepted Mr. Clegg's invitation to utilize this program and the Welfare Department facilities and records to analyze the composition and some characteristics of this particular group of farm laborers. In the process of studying these records, the study team arranged for an analysis of 1,511 records kept by the Welfare Department of applicants for the emergency relief program from December 23, 1958 to March 26, 1959. In addition, the research team hired and trained three graduate students to do more intensive interviews with a total of 50 of these applicants. The ethnic composition of applicants was as follows: 600 Mexican-Americans, 432 Negroes, and 479 Anglos. Some of the significant items of information acquired from these records included:

1. Place of origin. 50% of the total group was born in southwestern United States.
2. Length of residence in Fresno County. Over 50% had been in the county more than 5 years; 74%, more than 2 years.
3. Place of residence in the county. 64% of the total live in "urban" areas.
4. The age of male applicants. 50% were over 40 years old; the Mexican-Americans tended to be younger.

5. Size of families. 73% had 3 or more children; Mexican-American families tended to be larger than either Negro or Anglo families.

From the 50 more intensive interviews the following information was included among the responses:

1. Interest in farm work as a life occupation. 50% Yes, 50% No.
2. Levels of education of fathers. 50% of total less than 7 years in school; interestingly, Negroes claimed the most formal schooling; Anglos next and Mexican-Americans the least.
3. When asked to state the major problem of being a field worker, a majority had no opinion; some said it was the seasonal nature of the work and the low wages.
4. When asked what would solve the major problem, most could not formulate any opinion.
5. Source of employment. Most obtained work through labor contractors.
6. Other vocational skills. One-third of the total claimed no other skills; Negroes had a wider variety with Anglos next and Mexican-Americans fewest.

In the month of February, the study team in its entirety or a member thereof participated in interviews with a number of individuals and groups closely related to the farm labor situation. From these interviews certain general patterns seemed to begin emerging.

On February 18, the Staff had a group meeting with public health representatives at the Fresno County Health Center, including public health nurses and sanitarians. Some of the information contributed by these professionals included the following: Because of an early completion of the fall cotton harvest in 1958 (little or no rain and a large increase of mechanization), there was no current work except for tractor drivers and a few other skilled jobs; many workers have moved into urban areas and some have migrated farther north; some remained in labor camps, although without work; some of the older camps have now been condemned; many of the cabins have been constructed of wooden frames and floors with little ventilation or fire protection; in the previous year several cabins burned with many injuries and some deaths resulting; Mexican nationals and Mexican-Americans seemed to have the best cabin maintenance, followed by Negroes and Anglos in that order; more requests for improvement of living conditions came from Mexicans and Mexican-Americans; Mexican-Americans seemed to have more leadership and are more cooperative in terms of child care; (least cooperative--Anglos); at present there are 5 clinics in operation on the West Side of the county which are financed partly by the growers and partly by the county; clinic attendance has been increasing yearly, with most care, however, being for maternity and infant cases; opinions expressed were that a majority of workers live in urban-fringe areas which are self-segregating according to ethnic characteristics; these fringe areas are generally characterized as sub-standard and grew largely in this fashion because of a lack of water and building codes; such fringe area slums completely encircle the city of Fresno, as well as being spotted throughout the rural areas of the county; housing was characterized by a lack of water and indoor plumbing facilities and such items as newspaper insulation; in general, Negroes do not live within Mendota, Kerman, Firebaugh, and some of the other West Side communities; at the Calflax Ranch an educational program involving motion pictures and night meetings helped orient farm laborers to the use of modern plumbing, care of the cabins, and more adequate diet for their babies; representatives present agreed that attitudes of individual growers varied between strong interest in workers' betterment and a feeling of responsibility for workers, on the one hand, and a complete rejection of the problem and a tendency to throw major responsibility on the county, on the other hand; because of restrictions against public assistance for employables, many unemployed fathers in farm labor families habitually seek to be jailed so that the families can secure food; in many cases the noon meal at school is the only full meal many of the children receive.

From an interview with Mr. Ray Provost, Vice-President in Charge of Grower Relations of Producers Cotton Oil Company, on February 23, 1959, the study team came away with these impressions: Growers, in general, would be willing to cooperate with the study staff but would have few, if any, ideas as to the solution of current farm labor problems, which Mr. Provost feels is the appropriate area for "experts"; consensus among the growers is that coming mechanization will decrease the need for large numbers of farm laborers but Mr. Provost disagreed with this point of view feeling that a much more varied crop production, now starting will require in the next 10 to 20 years additional hand labor; Mr. Provost predicted that harvesting cotton will soon require laborers only for running the machinery involved; Mr. Provost indicated that ranch provision of housing for farm laborers is on the way out and that growers prefer to hire laborers who commute to their ranches from urban-fringe areas; ranchers have felt that ranch housing has involved many problems, such as the initial cost and maintenance problems complicated by destructiveness of laborers as a group; he gave the impression that, among the three major ethnic groups characteristic of the farm labor population, Anglos present the biggest problems; Mr. Provost indicated an opinion that the extension of economic protection to farm laborers such as minimum wage, maximum hour laws, unemployment and other social insurances, etc., is inevitable; however, he does not feel the present is the appropriate time to extend these protections because growers, in what he called a "down period" of agriculture, would strongly resist; he expressed the opinion that a minimum-wage law providing for a $1.25 an hour would break the big ranchers.

On the same date as the above interview with Mr. Provost, United States Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, in an address at the National Conference of Farm Labor Services in Los Angeles included the following comments:

> Rural underemployment, and the depressed living standards that it implies, is not a temporary problem.
>
> Contrary to what you may hear, there is very little evidence that the underemployed and unemployed farm worker is passing out of society.
>
> The number of migratory farm workers in the United States has not decreased during the last ten years; nor has the total number of persons who engage at least part-time in farm work.
>
> Yet their economic status has been getting progressively worse.
>
> The number of days worked by the average farm worker per year has been going down steadily. Ten years ago there were more than 180 work-days. Today the average is 144.
>
> The total wages they earned in 1957 averaged $892. This was lower than any reported year since 1951.
>
> ...we must remember that these workers not only do not have the protection of most of the social legislation which places a floor under the economic wellbeing of most Americans; but they are also deprived even of the "automatic" action of a free labor market, in which a labor shortage tends to bring its own correction.[1]

Following a suggestion of Mr. Provost's, the study team spent most of one day on February 26, at the Calflax Ranch, a subsidiary of Producers Cotton Oil Company. In the course of this visit, the study team toured the camp areas on the ranch, the shops and work areas and spent time in the ranch office interviewing the office manager. Calflax Ranch involves 17,000 acres of which 2,100 are planted in cotton, 6,100 in barley, 900 in seed alfalfa and the balance lies fallow or is in melons. There is a beginning of diversification with the ranch now growing some seed crops. Major permanent employees include a ranch manager, the office manager, a ranch foreman, 3 maintenance foremen, and 2 irrigation foremen; in addition, the permanent employees include tractor drivers who also live on the ranch. Tractor drivers considered among the more skilled workers; year-around employees get 85 cents an hour and work 11 hours a day, 7 days a week on the day shift; those who work at night get 90 cents an hour and work 12 hours a day; both groups pay no rent and their utilities are paid by the ranch. As compared to the field hands, these people comprise a relatively stable group and take considerably better care of their houses than the field workers do. Ranch sources indicated that among the three ethnic groups there was no apparent differences in ability to drive tractors.

---

[1] James P. Mitchell, address given in Los Angeles, California, February 23, 1959, News from the U. S. Department of Labor, USDL--2723.

From time to time, Calflax Ranch uses some Mexican nationals (Braceros); these workers, usually single men, live in a separate camp and are primarily utilized for irrigation work which domestic farm laborers prefer not to do. When the ranch uses cotton choppers and cotton pickers, these are secured through labor contractors; Calflax pays the contractor a rate per 100 pounds of cotton and the contractor pays the workers. Calflax is one ranch which still feels the necessity for maintaining fairly large numbers of migratory workers living on the ranch, even thougl they are aware that the fringe-area settlements of farm laborers are increasing. In regard to the three major ethnic groups, Calflax has no policy of segregation although the three groups are located in different camps; actually most of the Negroes live in one camp although small numbers of more skilled or better-housekeeping Negro workers may move into some of the other camps; there is more mixing between the Mexican-Americans and Anglos in the same camp; the camp which is mostly Negro is the worst in terms of care taken of the cabins; more of these workers tend to ignore requests to move and stay on the year-around in camp even when there has been no work for some time. (The cabins are rent free and the utilities are paid by Calflax.) The three groups, according to Calflax sources, present roughly the same picture as far as family problems and interpersonal relationships among people in the camp such as fights or squabbles even within or between families, are concerned. When the camps are full, there is an average of five people to each family in each cabin. Some of the maintenance problems cited: children often flush rolls of toilet paper down the toilets as well as stuff rocks down the toilets; children have jumped into or pole vaulted through screen doors of the cabins; children have destroyed cabin roofs, torn screen wire off windows, and broken doors and windows in unoccupied cabins; some of the workers have cut holes in the wooden floors to use as toilets or have cut up the wooden floors to use as firewood; some have made holes in the door of the cabin for cats and dogs to go through; in many cabins TV sets and aerials are more common than beds.

The study team drove through two of the camp areas and noted some people still living in the camps even though no work was currently available; the camps were provided with facilities separate from the cabins for flush toilets and showers. The cabins seemed to be mostly about 16 feet by 16 feet, of wooden frame construction with one door, two or three windows, and relatively close together. Most of the cabins were located on bare earth which at this time of year consisted of several inches of mud with no trees, grass, or plantings of any kind immediately around the living area. At one of the camps, power equipment belonging to the ranch was being used to level out the ruts around the cabins; barefooted children were in evidence playing outside with adults sitting in the doorway and occasionally working on automobiles.

Ranch sources indicated extreme sensitivity when questioned about differences among the three ethnic groups; the study team felt that ranch authorities were trying very hard not to give any impressions of ethnic prejudices and, therefore, perhaps, permitted this to keep them from giving a completely objective account of actual ethnic differences in work productivity, reliability, skills, home maintenance, etc. Ranch authorities also indicated a feeling that time would help the problem and that the younger generation of farm workers "has learned a little"; they spoke particularly of improvement among the Mexican-American groups; they stressed that farmers largely are not to blame for the problem and their feelings that the workers have brought the problems on themselves.

On February 27, the research team compiled the following information as a result of an interview in the Fresno County Office of the Farm Labor Bureau: the Farm Labor Office does not practice ethnic discrimination in any fashion but did have some comments to make in regard to questions about the three ethnic groups; the greatest number of farm laborers in the Fresno County area now is composed of Mexicans--either legal, permanent immigrants or Mexican-Americans--next are Anglos and the smallest number is composed of Negroes; the agency representative could not comment or give an opinion about which ethnic group is most effective or most efficient in farm labor, but after extensive questioning did state that some people in agriculture felt that generally the Mexicans and Mexican-Americans were the best workers, and that the Anglos were the worst workers and that the Negroes vary greatly depending upon their individual background.

In response to questions about mechanization, this agency representative stated that even the cotton harvesting could be done by machines only under ideal conditions--which would include no hills or uneven ground and no rain or wet cotton; ranchers who use machines still feel the necessity for keeping hand laborers available since it is cheaper than machines and more effective for uneven ground or wet cotton; last fall's season was an exceptionally dry one and most of the crop was mechanically harvested and finished early--by December 15; however, in the same fall there was the largest number of farm laborers yet recorded in Fresno County (5,500 interstate and 12,392 intrastate on September 6, 1958) in Fresno County; Braceros rarely total more than one percent of the labor force in Fresno County; last year was the first year in several that the fruit harvest was completed without Braceros; many West Side ranchers were doing away with ranch housing and coming to depend more on day-haul labor; for example, the Giffen Ranch may use 3,000 workers a day in season, now secured through day haul, formerly housed on the ranch; the number of workers living in fringe-area settlements seemed to be increasing; a new trend in housing of workers is in evidence in areas where parcels of land are being bought by labor contractors and others who then haul shacks or barracks which are then rented or sold to farm labor families; these housing developments are not subject to state housing regulations (as ranch housing is) but have become subject to increasing county regulations in the last year or so; a certain percentage, definitely in the minority, of laborers are migratory by desire and would probably not care to settle down at all to a permanent job; examples were given of "aristocratic" melon pickers, mostly Anglos, who follow a cycle of Fresno--Arizona--Imperial Valley--Kern County--Fresno, will not usually do any other work, have long vacations and may have high pay, occasionally reaching $8,000 to $10,000 a year; Fresno's normal farm labor cycle is one of the longest in the country, from April to October and appears to be lengthening, which would be conducive to more settlement and would make employment available most of the year; day-haul labor leaves Fresno daily by contractors' buses and trucks from the vicinity of Tulare and F at 5:30 a.m., involving at the height of the season 10,000 or more workers each day; the State Department of Employment has tried a state-wide survey to find out annual incomes and found accurate estimates impossible; they do have information on hourly, daily, and weekly pay rates but no more than that; present wages for field crops on the West Side range from 85 to 95 cents an hour; East Side wages run a dollar or more an hour, mostly for fruits and nuts; in response to a question about a proposed minimum-wage law, the agency representative stated that it would be strongly resisted by the growers and if paid now would cause them to charge for housing. (The study team raised certain speculative questions in connection with this last comment: Would this be bad, that is, if workers were charged for housing? Is it conceivable that if people paid rent they might take more responsibility and, receiving rent, growers might do more maintenance or have to provide better housing?)

The following is a summarized account of observations made by two members of the study team of the day-haul operation on Saturday, February 28; it should be noted that because of the earliness of the season this was not a typical day, probably. However, this account may serve as a graphic illustration of the nature of the day-haul farm labor operation:

Observation of and Casual Conversation with Farm Laborers Loading into Contract Labor Buses at Tulare-F Street Area in Fresno

(Observers dressed in old work clothes and mingled with laborers.)

5:10 - 5:20 Observers walked around Tulare-F corner, noticed gradually increasing number of men, mostly Negro, standing around. A truck, with neat sign, "Gene Morales, Jr., Labor Contractor," parked in front of a cafe on F.

5:20 - 5:40 Observers went in cafe for coffee. Patrons were mixed--Negro, Mexican and Anglo, dressed mostly for work in the fields. Two policemen were eating breakfast and reading morning paper. Man sitting near observers said work would be in sugar beets.

5:40 - 6:05 Observers stood in front of cafe with increasingly larger group of men (perhaps reaching total number of 60) now mostly Mexican, most with pruning shears and/or small hand saws. Additional vehicles now included one large truck with benches in rear, also labelled Morales, two pick-up trucks, one loaded with spray equipment, also apparently part of Morales operation. Trucks loaded and moved out with all or mostly Mexican workers. Labor contractor scrupulously avoiding picking Anglo observers for his crew.

6:05 - 6:50 Men left and newcomers gathered on Tulare Street by another cafe in front of which dilapidated yellow bus with name "Gene Woods" crudely lettered on side. Observers mingled with men and noted: crowd was now mostly Negro and Anglo, some carrying paper bag lunches, some with bottles of wine. Anglos as a group were largely, but not entirely, a rough, dirty, poorly-clothed and derelict or alcoholic-looking group; some exceptions: two clean-cut, cleanly dressed older men with whom observers conversed at greater length than others and one young, almost dapper man. One Anglo was "bounced" out of the cafe.

Negroes as a group were clothed somewhat better, appeared on the average to be younger, healthier-looking and had more animated conversation. A Negro in answer to observers' question said work was in sugar beets, then moved away from observers. The two older Anglos informed observers this bus was waiting for workers for thinning sugar beets, a "dirty job" in which workers operate continually in a bending or stooped position with a short-handled (about 30") hoe in one hand and digging out and throwing away beets with the other. Both said they would not take such work, that it's killing, that the bus would wait for a long time but that it would fill because some "guys will finally get hungry enough," that the pay is $1.90 a row but that a row may stretch from "here to Sacramento," that an acquaintance took such a job yesterday and netted one dollar (for about ten hours' work), that a good worker yesterday had done two rows, thereby grossing $3.80 for sun-up-sun-down work with actual net pay between $1 and $2, that Mexicans are better at it than anyone else.

At about 6:20 another truck pulled up briefly, already partly full. When nobody else got on, truck pulled out. Contractor's name: T. J. Turney, 2206 Clara. Objective was sugar beet thinning. Crew mostly Negro.

Shortly after, another truck with name on side, "Alfonso Hernandez," pulled up briefly already partly loaded, then left.

Finally, original yellow bus labelled "Gene Woods" got full load, mostly Negro, a few Anglo, no Mexicans and pulled out. Another quite elaborate and late model truck pulled up to take its place. The driver said his destination was Salinas and he would probably wait a long time for a full load; the men would then stay over in Salinas. Although some Negroes talked to him, nobody got aboard.

6:50 - 6:55 Observers moved to Tulare and C Streets where some buses were parked at a gas station and some men were standing. However, no contractor or driver was in evidence and small crowd dispersed after a short wait.

6:55 - 8:00 Observers drove around West California housing projects, saw no signs of workers or recruiting buses or trucks. Did locate a place where many, apparently now inactive buses were parked. Sign in front: H & N Contracting Company, 716 W. California, AD. 3-9081.

Buses had signs painted on them such as: Honest John Kelly, Mama Ruth.

Observers drove around fringe housing near Hormel and O'Neill packing houses. Much rural-urban fringe slum housing, mainly Negro, especially near the dumps. Near corner of Church and Fruit, went through a miserable shack, labelled "Church of God in Christ." About 30-40 feet long, 10-12 feet wide, made of odds and ends of scrap lumber, with broken chairs, strips and pieces of old linoleum thrown on floor and a crude, improvised pulpit.

8:00 - 9:00 Breakfast and return.

Fringe Area Findings: Weeth Ranch Interview and Mendota Tour

All four study team members attended the Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops which was hdld in Fresno on March 2 and 3. The study team members listened to the major talks and attended various section meetings to pick up as much information as possible which might have a a bearing on our current project; later the team members compared notes and discussed the implication of some of this material for us in our efforts.

As a result of conferences with County Health Department Staff, the project staff had become aware of the fact that Fresno is literally rimmed with fringe areas housing many farm workers. On March 7, and on some subsequent weekends, the staff spent days in the field with either Mr. Joseph Reich or Mr. Dick Rush, Sanitarians of the County Health Department, touring these fringe areas. These areas were then mapped as to location and identification in terms of the inhabitants' ethnic group. (See attached maps.) Incidentally, mapping disclosed that Negroes are almost entirely concentrated in areas west of Highway 99.

The Steering Subcommittee met with the project staff at Calflax Ranch on March 9; at this meeting plans were made for the consultation with the visiting experts. In accordance with a suggestion by Mr. Tom O'Neill, Chairman, it was decided that along with the general information gathering, it would be well for both the project staff and the experts to have a more intensive look at one particular fringe area. Mr. Dutton of the Fresno Community Council suggested East Mendota as an outstanding example of the fringe-type settlement with all its problems; in addition, he pointed out that nearby there were several large ranches that could be surveyed too. Since the conference with the experts was scheduled for March 23, 24, and 25, the question was raised as to whether there should be a meeting of the total Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee before that time or not; Mr. O'Neill felt that it was important that the Committee be kept informed of progress of the study but thought that planning a total Committee meeting would involve too much time and preparation in view of the necessary steps that would have to be taken before the arrival of the consultants. On the basis of this suggestion, the total group present agreed to send out a notice reporting progress of the study to date, explaining about the time and circumstances of the visit of the consultants, allow space for comments, suggestions or questions to be sent back to the study team for presentation to the consultants if any members of the Committee wished to do this.

The plan for the visit of the consultants was as follows: the first day to be spent in Mendota with an opportunity for Committee members, local officials and interested citizens in the Mendota area, representatives of the various agencies and services dealing with farm laborers to make a brief presentation to the consultants; on the second day, the first half to be spent in Mendota touring the area and the afternoon and evening would be spent at Calflax Ranch where Mr. O'Neill offered to put up the consultants for the night; on the third day, the morning would be spent at Calflax Ranch and in the afternoon the consultants would be in conference with the Staff to conclude their visit; it was further decided to request the consultants to send written evaluations of their visit within ten days after it was concluded.

In the process of gathering information so far, the study team had several times heard reference to a ranch near Coalinga run by Mr. Waldo Weeth, which was establishing some innovations in terms of ranch operations and particularly in terms of the use of farm laborers. On March 10, the study team spent most of the day at the Weeth Ranch having arranged a tour and an interview with Mr. Weeth. The Weeth operation involves some 6,000 acres divided into four major areas or "departments," cattle, seed, field and irrigation. The Weeth operation involves extensive mechanization; Mr. Weeth firmly expressed himself that the present need for hand labor will not continue; he feels that even much of the vegetable picking and other jobs so far considered impossible by mechanical methods will be handled by machine. He expressed very definitely the opinion that extensive mechanization is inevitable and that all of the large ranch operators will be involved sooner than they admit, simply from economic necessity.

At present, the Weeth Ranch has 35 permanent employees who live in permanent one or two bedroom units that are built of cement block construction with cement floors. Each unit has a shower and toilet, kitchen sink with water, refrigerator and butane stove for cooking; there are lawn areas, cement sidewalks and shade trees around the houses; Mr. Weeth indicated where several large trees are growing he plans to make into sort of a park for the employees. Rather than supply the housing free, Mr. Weeth rents the one-bedroom units for $5 and the two-bedroom units for $10 a month; he feels that the payment of even a nominal rental helps to give the workers a feeling of responsibility and says that experience has born this feeling out. At certain peak season periods such as weeding time in the spring, Mr. Weeth may hire as many as sixty or seventy additional workers for a few days at a time but most of the ranch's work is done by the thirty-five settled resident workers. Mr. Weeth has experimented with some incentive pay plans and has found this system to be satisfactory for both him and the workers; for example, he uses a system of overhead sprinklers which have to be moved from time to time; he originally tried paying the men $1.10 an hour to move the overhead line and found they would not get it done in a day's time; he now pays $2.50 per line and the men move 6 lines in 5 hours--earning $15 when their day's work is finished; Mr. Weeth says the cost per acre is no higher and the men are much happier with this system. The Weeth Ranch also includes a seed processing and packing plant which occupies the workers when there is no work in the fields.

It was the feeling of the Staff that the Weeth operation was in many respects a very progressive one; there was certainly a paternalistic approach involved, but both Mr. Weeth and the workers seemed to be more content than was the general picture elsewhere. There seemed to be a strong group identification of the workers. (We should point out here that at a little later date the study team came back to the Weeth Ranch with interviewers and interviewed several families of workers, as well as the ranch superintendent.) There are parties and picnics on the ranch for the workers in which Mr. Weeth's family is also involved; each year there is a big Christmas party in one of the big seed barns and everyone gets a gift. The ranch management encourages both children and adults to get as much education as possible and takes a real personal interest in all employees. According to the ranch superintendent, the main reason for labor turnover is that workers may leave to accept permanent employment in town and this sort of getting ahead is encouraged by the ranch management. In terms of ethnic groups they are mostly Anglos or Mexicans and Mexican-Americans; at present there also are four immigrant boys from Denmark working on the farm and two families from Lithuania. The ranch does not have Negro employees largely because they feel there is strong discrimination in the Coalinga area and much prejudice against this group. Neither Mr. Weeth nor the ranch superintendent felt there were any significant differences in performance in employees of the two major ethnic groups; they did point out that the Anglos tended to have a little more formal education.

After leaving the Weeth Ranch, the study team members felt that here indeed was an approach which boded some hope for the future in terms of the successful integration of farm laborers into the community as stable, contributing members able to pursue the channels of social mobility so highly valued in our culture. The team members felt that the paternalistic approach and the warm (apparent) relationship between management and the workers at the Weeth Ranch was perhaps an extra bonus in this particular operation; even without this the general plan and approach seemed to be essentially sound.

In preparation for focusing on East Mendota as a typical fringe problem area the study team visited and toured that area on March 13 and then had an interview with Mr. Smithson, Mendota's Chief of Police, in connection with law enforcement problems in the East Mendota area. The basic law enforcement problem stems from the fact that the jurisdiction of the Mendota City Police does not extend across the tracks into the East Mendota area, which is unincorporated. Responsibility for policing this area actually rests in the hands of a constable stationed in Firebaugh (eight miles away) who, however, may often arrive too late to be effective. (See Appendix interview, "Fresno County Sheriff's Office.) In the event that a life may be in danger, Mendota City Police will reluctantly go to East Mendota; when a city policeman does this, his insurance is not effective because he is operating beyond the city limits which are his main responsibility. Mr. Smithson said that disturbing the peace, petty theft, and burglary are common offenses in East Mendota; there was also frequent serious trouble involving knife fights and shooting. In one night the City Police had seven different calls in East Mendota; since last June there have been four homicides and numerous hospitalizations as a result of problems in East Mendota. Mr. Smithson felt that it would take two full-time policemen to handle East Mendota's law enforcement problems. In addition, he gave us the following general information: the population is approximately 50% Negro, 40% Mexican, and 10% Anglo with many single men, particularly Negro; prostitution is much in evidence; the people tend to segregate themselves into their own groups and generally the fights arise within the group rather than between them; there are quite a few permanent residents in the area with some people owning their property and some buying; sanitation is extremely bad with outdoor privies in much too close proximity to sources of water; the city of Mendota would incorporate East Mendota if the tax rate would allow for water, sewage, etc.; however, at present the assessed valuation is too little; the population of Mendota ranges from 2,500 to 4,000 during the peak farm work season; during the peak season every shack that has a roof of any sort is in use and after the melon harvest is finished many people move on.

The above interview was made after the study team had toured the East Mendota area. This section follows the traditional pattern of being across the tracks and lies east of Mendota proper bounded by the railroad tracks on one side and consisting of a jumble of one-story dwellings ranging from shacks of the familiar migrant labor camp type to somewhat larger dwellings in which apparently several people or possibly several families live; the streets are unpaved with no sidewalks, curbs or gutters, and no street lights; the area has little growth or vegetation except in the instances of a few yards in which the owners were making some attempt at gardening; the observer is struck by the large dog population; the human population consisted of some representatives of all three of the major ethnic groups. Most of the inhabitants, however, are apparently Negro; there are evident fairly large numbers of single men; many of the yards contained assorted piles of junk, rubbish, outdoor privies, automobiles in various states of repair, etc. There is one clearly marked cafe and the informant told us there are at least two other establishments dealing in food, liquor, and probably narcotics and prostitution, although neither of these is marked by the presence of commercial type signs on the exterior. For a rather complete description of East Mendota, including rather specific references to the many social and health problems there, refer to the Appendix for a study by Rev. Jeanne Price called "East Mendota--Rural Slum."

The First Consultation

For most of the rest of the month up until the actual conference with the consultants the Staff worked with representatives of various agencies and services to plan for the consultation. Among those with whom some advance plans were necessary in order to arrange for brief but complete presentation to the consultants were: representatives of the County Health Department including both sanitarians and public health nurses; representatives of the County Hospital including medical and nursing staffs; representatives of the County Welfare Department; the Agricultural Extension Service; the Public Housing Authority; the Westside School; the Sheriff's Office; Fresno Community Council; the County Probation Department; the California Adult Authority; the Farm Labor Office; the Catholic Welfare Bureau; Fresno City Police Department; Community Service Organization; the NAACP; the Girl Scouts; the Mendota Schools; the Migrant Ministry; the All Saints' Episcopal Church; the County Schools Office; the Sanger Health Commission.

When the consultants arrived for the conference, it was necessary to change the original plans because of an automobile accident a few days before in which Mr. O'Neill, Chairman of the overall Committee, had been seriously injured. The revised schedule called for an all-day consultation on March 23 in Mendota, a field trip on March 24, surveying in some detail actual living conditions in Mendota, East Mendota, Three Rocks, Parlier and a visit to the Westside School; on March 25, a conference between the consultants and the Staff.

The interviews with the various agency personnel seemed to confirm the general impressions of the Staff, some of which already have been mentioned in this report. There was not a single contradiction from all of these people who work closely with the migrants of the conclusion that migrancy _per se_ is no longer a major problem. All the facts, figures, and opinions given by these knowledgeable people reflected an overwhelming impression that the workers who are actually still migratory are now few and that the socio-economic and health and other problems of farm laborers in Fresno County are no longer related to transiency or migrancy. Again, in terms of general impressions received so far about the three major ethnic groups the consensus seemed to indicate agreement; one emerging fact not previously referred to is the apparently disproportionate amount of juvenile delinquency among the Mexican-American group, the group which most of the experts identified as being the one with the most stable family characteristics. Furthermore, there is a seeming paradox in this situation because all informants so far have identified the Mexican and

Mexican-American adults as being more orderly, less likely to be in conflict with each other and with authority or with other groups; the impressions of Mexican-American juvenile lawlessness received in this conference were born out in a subsequent discussion with Judge George DeWolf, Judge of the Superior Court and currently responsible for Juvenile Court in Fresno.

One major item of discussion which proved particularly interesting was the subject of education. The consultants and study team learned of the Fresno County Schools' pilot project aimed at meeting the needs of migratory farm labor children. All were impressed with the description of the program developed to meet their specific needs and still bridge the gap between their culture and that of the predominant middle class in the United States today. The study team particularly felt that implications of this educational project needed to be explored fully by some investigation into the actual program and possibly at some time a more intensive follow-up through tracing children who have gone through the program to determine what influence it has had upon them and their families.

On the following day, the consultants with the study team and with the guidance of Mr. Dick Rush, Sanitarian of the Fresno County Health Department, made an exhaustive (and exhausting) tour of locations in which farm laborers were presently living. The itinerary went as follows: (1) Mendota and East Mendota; (2) Three Rocks; (3) Westside School; (4) Whittner Heights; (5) Parlier and (6) Jericho. (Comments are summary remarks made or quoted by Mr. Rush or others in group):

Mendota and East Mendota - Coit labor camp is in city limits of Mendota. Mostly melon shed work here. Coit has 16,000 acres. Employs his help year around by making fishing reels, when there is no work to be done. East Mendota has about 2,600 people. (60% Negro, 30% Mexicans, 10% whites) About 70% of families in East Mendota own their own homes. Bought them from Henry Smith. About 15% of homes have indoor toilets. Single Negro men found in East Mendota come from Stockton and often are escapees from the law in some other town. During the melon season, prostitutes come from San Francisco. They are mostly whites. Mendota has only one Negro in it and he is the garbage collector. Gillian's labor camp has Mexican nationals

Three Rocks - A man has divided approximately 40 acres of land into very small lots which have been sold to families who are buying them on Contracts of Sale. Housing consists of tar-papered, very small shacks (condemned housing from labor camps) with outdoor privies, no water is available in the area where the housing is, must be carried from the grocery store which is on the road that borders the property. Population of this subdivision is about 600, almost entirely Mexican and very few Anglo families. This subdivision is two years old and in addition to a grocery store, the owner maintains a gas station and a dry good store. Since the area is very isolated, being 5 miles from Cantua Creek and 15 miles from Mendota, it is presumed that the people are largely dependent upon him for their supplies. This is probably the worst single example of a blighted area covered in the tour.

Vista Del Llano camp is at Cantua Creek. All toilets in one row. Few permanent people. Division of Housing is working at cleaning it up. Mostly Anglos. Few Mexican-Americans and a few Negroes. Some quonset huts with tar-papered roofs. Some of the housing meets the State Division of Housing code. No grass. Few trees. Rush says owners of Vista Del Llano Ranch were brought into court for exposed garbage. They spent $6,000 after this to comply with requests of sanitarians.

Westside School - Summary of interview with Mrs. McDonald, home economics teacher and Mrs. Edwards, school nurse: Schedule includes units on child care, grooming, home nursing, sewing, and cooking which stresses nutrition. Use live babies for child care. Work on budgets for families. Do pedicures, manicures, and washing of clothes. Last year had only 3 cases of athlete's foot and no ingrown nails. Many of the children have never owned a new pair of shoes. Classroom equipment includes tile shower and clothes washer and drier. Many ask for showers. Heads are washed at school too. They may also get hair cut. Many don't know how to use telephones. Take trips to Cherry Street auction and to Penney's.

School includes kindergarten through eighth grade. Total of 31 teachers (12 live in Fresno, 15 live in Coalinga, balance live near school). Only 4 on provisional credentials. There are 3 Negroes and 1 Mexican-American on faculty. Turnover of 6 teachers in last 6 to 8 years. Present enrollment - 739; peak 1,016. (Includes 46% Mexican, 2% Negroes, and balance whites (came from Arkansas).

Girls make quilts and bedspreads. These are given to some family at end of semester. Boys use hand tools in shop. Do shoe repair plus repair of toasters, irons, etc. After repairs and alterations, clothing and shoes donated to the school by various organizations are given to parents and children. Total of 53 children went to camp sponsored by Council of Churches at Hume Lake last year. Twelve went to Boy Scout camp. School provides bathing suits for all students.

Mrs. McDonald talks to students about scholarships. Feels school needs a counselor. "Some families tell students they have to quit school when they are 16. Must change this attitude," says Mrs. M. "They love school."

Would like to make the school a civic center through recreation. Need a gymnasium for community use. Also a swimming pool. Could serve the needs of the community with these. All ages could use baseball facilities.

Whittner Heights - This is a totally substandard real estate development which has built up over the past 4 years. Housing consists of old farm labor cabins which have been moved onto narrow lots. Many privies are in evidence. Almost the entire population is Mexican, very few Anglos.

Parlier - Except for a 4-block area adjacent to the school which has very adequate, modern housing, the whole town can be described as a blighted area. Some of the housing is very poor of a shack-like variety. The apparent population of the blighted area is dominantly Anglo with some Mexicans. Apparently no Negro families in this community.

Jericho - Housing in this entire area located on southwestern edge of urban Fresno is for most part representative of the worst slum conditions, i.e., houses built of packing crates, outdoor privies, etc. Population of the area is almost entirely Negro.

As a result of the conference between the consultants and the study team on March 25, the following proposals emerged:

Proposal # 1. Find out more about the 10,000 day-haul workers. The following are questions for which answers might be sought: 1. Do they come from a distance? 2. Are they permanent residents? 3. Are they single men? 4. Do they support someone in the fringe area? 5. Do they need rehabilitation or a change of values? 6. What are their skills and what is their job experience? It was suggested that the answers to some of these questions might be obtained by interviewing a group of day-haul workers. It was suggested these workers be paid for time spent in the interview.

Proposal # 2. Decide whether the project will focus on the so-called migrant or the problems of the fringe area.

Proposal # 3. Find out what affect the influx of additional workers and single men has on people who are trying to settle down.

Proposal # 4. Study economic trends in the valley with a view to finding these things: 1. How long will there be a need for farm workers? 2. Would further industrial development reduce unemployment? 3. Would cooperative farming be a possibility?

Proposal # 5. Do further study as to who should be responsible for workers during periods of unemployment. It has come out in the study so far that 2 ranchers (Mr. Weeth and Mr. Coit) have worked out programs for keeping permanent and well-housed workers employed year 'round. It was suggested that additional study be made of these operations including a study of some of the workers on these ranches.

Proposal # 6. Make a series of representative life histories to find out as much as possible about farm laborers, in order to determine what direction the study should take. Interviews could be done with workers at: 1. Weeth Ranch. 2. Coit Ranch 3. Calflax Ranch (include a camp that is predominantly Negro or Mexican-American) 4. People living in fringe areas 5. People on day haul 6. Westside School and one other school with similar population make-up. It was suggested that an attempt be made to obtain the following information: 1. Where did they come from? 2. What happens to them when they leave school? 3. Do children's changed patterns (at Westside School) carry over to home? to the parents? Do they last? 4. Look for glimmerings of "expectation" to "aspirations." 5. Look for factions that make for barriers to communication and understanding. 6. Look for clues as to where conflicts lie in camps, in fringe areas, etc. 7. Look for potential leadership elements among them. 8. Do they have a sense of belonging to the community? 9. Is there any indication that they share in community values? 10. How well do they work together? 11. Where were they born and how long have they been here? 12. Get a detailed picture of the inside of the house. 13. Brief the interviewers on how to handle "North" and "South" Negro problem. 14. Brief the interviewers on how to talk to Southern whites so that they will interpret questions correctly.

Proposal # 7. Work with Community Council East Mendota Committee on their door-to-door survey in Mendota area.

Proposal # 8. Inquire about 1960 census as to what questions might be asked that would be beneficial to the Project. A possible contact would be Dr. Dan Rathbun, Fresno State College faculty, who has worked on setting up the census in Washington.

Proposal # 9. Study ways by which the granting of citizenship to farm laborers could be facilitated, since older ones especially need citizenship to be eligible for public assistance. It was suggested that inquiry be made as to: 1. Do Fresno County and City Schools help to prepare adult students to pass citizenship and naturalization tests? Especially, do they have programs to help older workers pass citizenship tests in their own language? 2. What could be done to help farm laborers keep a record of where they have lived and for how long?

Day Haul and Labor Contractor Interviews

Following the consultation with the experts, the Staff and the Steering Subcommittee accelerated their efforts in planning and executing further aspects of the study. It was necessary to plan a report meeting with the total Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee, a meeting which was held on March 14, at which a report was given of progress to date of the overall study and some of the specific suggestions made as a result of the consultation with the experts. The Committee membership was given an opportunity to discuss fully the implication of the information so far uncovered and a chance to present additional suggestions and information which could be of use to the Steering Subcommittee or the Staff.

Along with preparing for this Committee meeting the Staff embarked upon a program of recruiting, selecting, training and directing interviewers for two general types of interviews, one of the day-haul workers and one of the families living in the fringe areas or the labor camps. The general approach was to devise specific questionnaires (see Appendix) for the use of the interviewers in each of these situations; a different questionnaire approach was necessitated because the Staff felt that the only possible way to get an interview with the day-haul workers was to get them as they gathered early in the morning prior to trying to get work; these interviews would obviously be of shorter length and the information would need to be as concise and specific as possible. On the other hand, the interview approach for the families in the fringe areas or camps was to be a different one; since the interview could take place in the home and homes were easily located (something not possible with the day-haul workers) it was felt that a much more generalized, complete, lengthy, and open-structured interview would be feasible.

The first interviewers selected and trained were some upper-division and graduate students at the college who were picked for their meeting certain qualifications: first, they seemed to exhibit good insights and knowledge of cultural differences; secondly, they were members of the three major ethnic groups with some knowledge of their own group and ability to communicate easily with other members of their own group; thirdly, they exhibited evidence and ability to learn to use the interview in an appropriate manner, without being obtrusive, authoritative, and yet able to get the basic information. The Staff members devised a questionnaire which they felt would be conducive to a short but fairly complete interview giving us most of the important information which we felt we needed about this group. The questionnaire form was discussed thoroughly with the interviewers who had some additional suggestions to make, and then after a few periods of orientation for the interviewers they were sent out at 4:30 one morning to try the questionnaire and determine whether it was all right in its existent form or whether it might need to be modified. It should further be pointed out here that the Staff, after having discussed this matter fully with the consultants, had made the decision that each day-haul worker interviewed would be paid $1 for the interview; we realize that this is a controversial approach and we are well aware of the disadvantages involved; however, the decision was made on the basis that payment for the interview would lessen the chances of rejection, failure to cooperate, the giving of misinformation, and further, would offer the men some payment in the event that by taking time out for the interview they were to miss a truck or bus for some particular job.

The initial interviews of the day-haul workers were secured on April 7, at which time three interviewers assembled at five o'clock in the morning in the Tulare and F Street area and broke up to conduct interviews on the basis of ethnic groups. On the first day, 19 interviews were secured and that afternoon the interviewers met with the Staff to evaluate the questionnaires and the approach as devised and review the actual interview procedure with a view to revision if necessary. As a result of this meeting, four additional questions were added to the original questionnaire and instructions to the interviewers were modified to permit a little more flexibility; for example, the interviewers, each representating one of the three major ethnic groups, reported that the workers responded without hostility, in fact even seemed to welcome the chance to talk about themselves and their situation; additionally, it was very evident that the payment of the $1 motivated many of them into wishing they could participate (as a matter of fact, the interviewers reported that some men attempted to go through the process more than once); the unexpected willingness, even eagerness, resulted in the fact that workers would not necessarily line up with the appropriate ethnic interviewer and the interviewers found a little awkwardness in dealing with this situation. The general consensus was that when this situation arose the interviewers should tactfully try to steer the respondent to the appropriate ethnic interviewer, but that if this proved awkward, likely to be misunderstood or in any way create any difficulties, the original interviewer would complete the interview with the respondent. Since the interviewers had uncovered several comments about labor contractors, it was decided that one interviewer would be assigned responsibility of conducting some interviews of an open nature, rather than a schedule or questionnaire nature, with some of the labor contractors. For the next several weeks, interviews were held with day-haul workers in this manner at least two or three mornings every week until a total of 138 interviews was completed.

A summary of the information obtained from the day-haul interviews would necessarily include some of these significant items: most of the day-haul interviewees from all three ethnic groups fell into the 40-49-year age bracket; for all three groups Texas was the place in which more had been born; a majority of the respondents lived in hotels or flophouses; most of the men do not now live with their families (almost none of the Anglos, 65% of the Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, and 73% of the Negroes) which would seem to indicate that the bulk of day-haul workers are single or divorced or separated men without dependent families with them; most of all three groups had been in Fresno County less than one year; a majority in each group does not prefer farm labor as a way of life; an overwhelming majority would rather settle down than be migratory; a large majority of the men interviewed either had no knowledge of the Farm Labor Office or felt that the Farm Labor Office is of no assistance in getting work; a majority of the respondents indicated an approximate daily wage of $6 to $7; an overwhelming majority of the men obtained work through labor contractors; when needing financial assistance most of the men would not use the Welfare Department. (See Appendix, pages 129-137.)

During the period in which day-haul interviews were being secured, one interviewer made several attempts to arrange interviews with labor contractors; this interviewer was a graduate student who was given some special guidance and instructions in this area and whose approach was simply to conduct a direct and open interview with farm labor contractors for the purpose of finding out as much about the labor contracting operation as possible. Actually, of those contacted, only four contractors were approachable enough to permit any kind of extensive interview. One of the larger local contractors with whom a successful interview was conducted openly said that there was reluctance to permit an interview and explained this on the basis of the highly competitive nature of their business; the same contractor frequently made reference to information which should not go "beyond this office." In addition, this contractor told the interviewer about the use of paid spies, workers who while actually working for a given contractor will go and spend the day on a job with another contractor, playing the role of a migrant laborer in order to discover what kind of food is being served, what wages are being paid, what special arrangements may exist with certain growers or any other information which could conceivably be of interest to his real employer.

In oversimplified form the farm labor contractor works something like this: he agrees for a certain commission or fee from the farmer or rancher to accept a given agricultural job and he completely makes the arrangements for securing the labor supply, transporting them to and from the job, paying them, arranging for their meals and occasionally for some of the equipment or tools which may be needed. At the time of the interviews with the contractors (mostly in April) the usual hourly rate paid the contractor was $1.10 to $1.15 per worker per hour; the wage rate at this time, i.e., the actual amount paid the worker was about 75 cents per hour. Most of the large contractors deal mainly with the single or unattached men identified by this one large contractor as "skid-row bums" because they are the easiest to locate and the most likely to accept prevailing wage rates however low they may be. This comment by the contractors' representative coincided with the information which was being accumulated through the day-haul interviews, namely that most of the day-haul workers were apparently unencumbered, divorced, separated, or single men, drifters, alcoholics, and derelicts.

In the state of California, contractors must be licensed and bonded and their vehicles and cook shacks are supposed to be inspected by appropriate state agencies; they are also required to carry insurance and deduct social security from the pay of the workers; the great increase in the use of labor contractors in the last few years, according to information from both contractors and ranchers, may well lie in the fact that they do have to provide for deducting social insurance, record keeping, transportation, etc. which the farmers would otherwise have to provide. According to the large local contractor interviewed, the farmers may pay a bonus for a job done quickly and well; there is no evidence that any part of the bonus is ever received by the workers. Further, labor contractor informants indicated that in many cases social security deductions were made from laborers' pay but neither their (the worker's) nor the appropriate employer's share was forwarded or returned to the worker unless the worker worked for a fairly long period of time. The large labor contractor interviewed stated that most contractors depend on a profit on the meals that they serve to keep the operation in the black, and many deliberately leave extra early in the morning so that the workers will need to purchase at least one extra meal in the field. The farm labor contractors expressed the feeling that the Farm Labor Office does not play a role of significant importance in the present agricultural pattern; it may provide a means for a small grower to find a few men or a large grower to find men with special skills but these situations are seen as only a small part of the total farm labor operation.

A great number of contractors compete for day-haul business and some concern was evidenced by the contractors because transients and migrants appear to be decreasing; several contractors now may recruit workers from a given fringe area or even from their own immediate neighbors; in these instances the workers are of more settled, stable family type than the typical day-haul workers which are still secured in large part from apparently decreasing (according to contractor informants) numbers. The large local contractor interviewed expressed some very definite opinions on the subject of ethnic differences, indicated the feeling that there was much ethnic hostility among the three groups, and further stated that many contractors deliberately utilized this hostility; for example, the contractor not able to fill a bus may let it be known that he will take only whites and not Negroes or he may use a Negro row boss to "crack the whip" over white workers or in other ways play off one group against the others.

Life History Interviews

The plan for securing interviews from farm labor families living in camps or fringe areas involved several different considerations. First, it was felt that there would be the possibility of having more intensive interviews since they would be held in the home; additionally, there would be the possibility of a trained interviewer being able to draw conclusions from observations made in the home during the actual course of the interview; because of the availability of more time for each interview, it was felt that it might be possible for a more complete look into value and attitude structure to be achieved in this group of interviews; this last, of course, would necessitate differently structured interviews, a different type of schedule or questionnaire, more intensive training of interviewers and the selection of interviewers who already had had some experience. In April, potential interviewers were discussed by the Staff, sounded out as to their availability and interest, given preliminary information on an individual basis and then assembled together for a series of evening training sessions. Other than one graduate student all of the interviewers selected, screened, trained and participating in this phase of the study were people with some background of experience behind them; for example, several of the interviewers were experienced workers in the County Welfare Department, some were full-time Deputy Probation Officers and some had completed social work professional (graduate) training with both private and public agency experience, while two, although not currently employed, were mature people with graduate training and combinations of personality and experience which were useful in performing an interviewing function.

After much careful thought and consideration the Staff prepared an interview form which consisted of a face-sheet for recording basic identifying information (such as names, addresses, number of family members, age of family members, birthplace, etc.) which was followed by a series of blank sheets except for a title at the top identified in terms of six general areas. The purpose for this sort of arrangement was to enable the interviewers to separate out the gathering of basic identifying data from material of significance in terms of their life experiences and their value-attitude structures. Since the plan as developed provided for a time space for each interview of at least an hour (the interviewers were instructed to make it an hour and a half if possible) it was felt that information in the general areas could best be obtained by encouraging the respondents to talk freely about themselves and circumstances and their feelings rather than asking them any specific questions beyond the face-sheet material. The titles of the general areas were: A. Work - Employment and Economic History B. Home and Family Living C. Courtship, Marriage, Children D. Education E. Leisure Time and Recreation F. Ethical and Moral Ideas and Training - and Religion.

The assumption was made that more complete and significant information could be obtained by encouraging the respondents to talk as freely as possible without confining them to closed questions which would require a limited answer. Therefore, during the training sessions with the interviewers a great amount of time was spent in discussion of what sort of information was wanted in each of these general areas. Each interviewer was given work sheets with the titles of the general areas on them and a list of questions or types of data desired in each of these areas underneath. (See Appendix.) The interviewers were trained to incorporate these lists of questions or subtopical areas into their approach but were forbidden the use of the work sheets in the actual interview itself. The interviewers were permitted, however, to use the work sheets as they wrote up their records of each interview in order to guide them so that they could pull out and write down the desired information. Because of the fact that most of the experience of the interviewers had been with situations in which they used closed questions, particularly those with County Welfare or Probation Department experience, it was necessary to help them reorient their whole approach to the interview situation. Interviewer training consisted of a series of evening meetings in which each part of the questionnaire or schedule form was fully discussed, the background and general nature of the study so far was completely laid out, the purposes and intent of this phase of the study were discussed thoroughly, the interviewers were given opportunity to raise questions, suggest changes and additional considerations and the interviewers were given a chance through some role-playing sessions to practice this controlled non-directive interview approach.

The first application of these interviews, referred to as "Life History Interviews," was on Sunday, April 26, when the study team and a group of the interviewers spent most of the day at the Weeth Ranch. During the week following these interviews, the interviewers met again in the evening with the Study Team to discuss any problems which arose and to have further training sessions in preparation for subsequent interviews. This became accepted procedure for the rest of the project. Other life history interviews were held at the Calflax Ranch, in the fringe area of Fresno proper known as Jericho, in the Fresno fringe area of Pinedale, in the area south and east of Fresno known as Whittner Heights; still other life history interviews were obtained in scattered fringe areas with interviewers securing materials and suggestions from the Public Health Nurses who were acquainted with these areas and the families living there.

The information secured from the life history interviews seemed to disclose several significant differences between this group of farm workers and the day-haul workers. For example, the life history respondents generally seemed to indicate a satisfaction with farm labor as a life work (which the day-haul workers did not), providing that they would get a living wage and somewhat better living and working conditions. Another significant difference between the two groups was that whereas the day-haul respondents had been in Fresno County for relatively short periods of time, a large number of the life history respondents had apparently been settled with a reasonably stable residence in the county of anywhere from two to five years' duration. Day-haul respondents were almost entirely older men not now living with their wives and families while life history respondents were younger families; day-haul respondents seemed to include significant numbers of alcoholics, men who had deserted their families, men in trouble with the law, drifters, etc. while life history respondents were more stable.

Study Procedure

At this point it might be well for the Staff to clarify certain aspects of the study procedure. In the cases of the data obtained from the three groups of farm laborers, the applicants for emergency help at the Welfare Department, the day-haul workers, and the subjects for the life history material, no attempt was made to pursue a study in statistically significant terms. Because of the nature of the population being dealt with and the dearth of information known already about its composition combined with the (at first, at least) expected high mobility of this population, random sampling procedures were not considered feasible or applicable. Further consideration included the fact that the study was being done over a relatively brief period of time and in terms of Staff allocation on a part-time rather than a full-time basis. However, it is incumbent on the Staff to point out the feeling on the part of the County Welfare Department that the people involved in the study of applicants for emergency relief did represent a high percentage of all Fresno County families dependent upon farm labor as a sole or major source of income; the actual numbers of people interviewed in the day-haul operation were limited partly by the fact that the study was done at a time of year when there were fewer people involved in this particular operation and were further limited by the fact that word was getting around among the day-haul workers about the interviews and there were increasing tendencies for respondents to try to repeat the interview experience as well as a growing interest in the whole proceedings on the part of the farm workers which, it was felt, might weight or bias the results obtained from future interviews; the total number of life history interviews was limited by the fact that each interview was a rather extensive time-consuming process both in terms of the actual interview itself and then of recording and evaluating the large accumulation of material from each individual interview. Furthermore, the intent of the life histories was to seek some guidance as to basic values, attitudes, and experiences which could not be obtained through shorter, more superficial interviews of larger numbers of people; additionally, the life history interviews were gathered for the most part on weekends when both interviewers and respondents would be less likely to have involvement with their regular occupations. Therefore, observations made and conclusions reached based upon these observations are generally confined to the actual workers interviewed; we do not assume that the conclusions necessarily would apply to the total group of all farm laborers in Fresno County, but we do believe that the conclusions reached about the population interviewed can give clues, insights, suggestions, and general details which may also apply to other farm workers in Fresno County.

In summary, the major impressions which can be obtained from the 62 life history interviews are these:

A. Work - Employment and Economic History

Almost all of the adults in the sample were raised in farm working families, and have continued the same work in their adult lives. Among those who could give an estimate of income (43 of the 62 interviewed), 67% reported incomes of less than $2,500 per year, and 73% of the total group believe they have about the same economic level as their parents were able to maintain.

More than half of these families are supported by the father's earnings as the major source of income and the remainder are about equally divided between those in which both parents work as farm laborers and those which count upon work by all family members, including children, to provide the family income. Approximately 75% of all families owned or were buying an automobile. No marked patterns of ethnic difference were apparent in any of the foregoing characteristics.

B. Home and Family Living

1. Housing - Among the families interviewed, 29 lived in ranch housing and 33 in urban fringe areas. About 60% of the total group occupied housing which in the opinion of the interviewer, offered totally inadequate space, household equipment, and sanitation for healthy family life.

Among those who were living in urban fringe areas about two-thirds were renting and one-third buying their homes. Among the home buyers there were proportionately more Mexican-American families than either Negroes or Anglos, and in all types of housing the Mexican-Americans were observed to be in more adequate, better maintained housing.

2. Home management - In about one-half of the families interviewed,

the interviewers recorded evidence of noticeable attempts by family members to be planful of spending available income. And there were frequent comments by informants that planning was very difficult with low income received irregularly. In a majority of all families, spending of money was jointly controlled by both husband and wife, and in those families in which one or the other spouse carried this responsibility alone it more often was done by the wife.

Actual care of the house and children was the responsibility of the wife in a large majority of all families.

3. Family size - large size was a major characteristic of all families interviewed: 79% had three or more children and 41% had more than five. As was anticipated, the Mexican-American families tended to be larger and the Anglo families the smallest in size. (The national average number of children per family in the U. S. in 1956: 1.33.)

4. Attitudes concerning health and sanitation

One of the most vital questions involved in any study of this type is that centered around health attitudes. Studies in this area by Saunders, Foster, and others have revealed the great gulf which exists between the Anglo-American pattern of medical care and that of non-Anglo cultural groups. It was hoped that the life history approach (employed as one phase of this study) might throw additional light on the general problem. Two factors, however, tended to complicate the data and render the results indistinct. One such factor was found in the difficulty of determining actual attitudes from the vague comments offered by a large number of informants. The second factor resulted from the fact of obvious differences between expressed or implied attitudes toward health and sanitation and actual practices which were apparent in the conditions of the interior of the dwelling and the immediate outside area.

Insofar as statements might reveal such attitudes, it appears that approximately 77% of those interviewed indicated acceptance of minimum standards of dominant group health practices and attitudes. It should be reiterated, however, that only verbal acceptance is indicated, and sanitary conditions are generally well below minimum standards. Needless to say, in many cases attitudes are backed by action as denoted by attendance at Westside Clinics, use of Public Health Nurses, and voluntary requests for admission to County Hospital.

The 33% of those who responded with some precision to questions concerning health attitudes must be placed in the category of those who generally do not accept dominant group patterns. Such individuals as those who follow "faith healers" or those who are unaware of the most basic medical concepts are included here.

Other than Mexican-Americans and Mexicans, ethnic differences in regard to this problem area are not apparent. Among the above group almost 40% must be placed in the category of those who reject or are ignorant of dominant health patterns.

Because of the obvious significance of this particular aspect of value attitude structure, a specific study aimed at securing more precise information might be in order as a future community project. It should be mentioned that responsible citizens of Fresno County have consistently approached the problem of health and sanitation facilities for farm workers with determination and enthusiasm. Although the results of these efforts have been spectacular in some instances, a glance at the rural, urban, and urban slum maps (Appendix) indicates that the problem has become more complex in spite of above mentioned efforts.

C. Courtship, Marriage, Children

1. Courtship and marriage - Approximately one-half of all couples reported courtship of more than one year and one-half of less than a year. Many married without parental consent, and a majority of all marriages were

performed by civil ceremonies. The median ages at marriage for the total group were 20-25 years for men, 19-22 years for women. Divided into ethnic groups the figures indicate slightly earlier marriage among Mexican-Americans and Anglos than among Negro informants.

2. Children - Although major responsibility for care of the children is apparently carried by the wives in these families, about one-half indicate that both parents discipline children.

D. Education

1. Formal schooling - None of the men was reported to have completed high school with the exception of one Negro man reported to have had one year of college. The median level reported for the total group was 6-8 grades. If separated from the total group, the Mexican-American group shows a median of below 6 grades completed.

The women in all groups had been able to spend slightly more time in school, but the difference was not marked.

2. Attitudes toward education - A majority of all groups expressed positive attitudes toward education for their children; however, interviewers noticed some indications that these expressions were not always supported by actions (children not in school, etc.). There were also several comments recorded which implied that parents saw school as a place for children to be "kept out of trouble" rather than as a place to accomplish anything of importance. However, the total impression is one of some concern on the part of most parents that their children have opportunity to complete school.

E. Leisure Time and Recreation

The clear impression in this area is that most of these farm working families have little time or opportunity for real recreation, and that most of them have no ties with any organized group. Many have not even any consistent relatedness to their own larger families. Some report rather loose church affiliation, and a few of the children may be engaged in group activity from time to time, but there is the distinct impression that these families for the most part do not maintain consistent or meaningful relationships or activities outside the immediate family.

There was some evidence of hobbies and reading, and a fairly large group do have TV, but the major impression is that recreation is not a real part of their lives.

F. Ethical and Moral Ideas and Training and Religion

1. Church affiliation - A majority of the total group of families report nominal affiliation, but attendance at regular services or special church activities is at a minimum in all groups.

2. Ethical and moral ideas and training - Many of the informants were not able to explain with any clarity their actual beliefs. Most expressed concern that their children learn that lying and stealing are wrong, and many were concerned that the sexual taboos of our society be observed particularly by their daughters. However, the interviewers did not obtain any real impressions about positive ethical responsibilities.

Most reported that they try to train their children via explanations of right and wrong as well as using fear and spanking.

Three Collateral Interviews

There were three further collateral interviews obtained by the study team which provided further useful information and opinions of a general nature. The first of these was an interview with Mr. Lloyd Dowler, Head of the Agriculture Division at Fresno State College, and two other members of the agriculture faculty (see interview summary in Appendix). The consensus of the agricultural school faculty is that the intention of the farmers and ranchers in the long run is to reduce the labor force to a minimum and to use more and more machinery with more and more crops. The agricultural experts indicated several areas in which experimental machines have already been developed to perform functions now being done by hand labor; it is their feeling that many of these machines will move out of the experimental stage and begin actual usage on a fairly large scale within the next ten to twenty-five years. They informed the Study Team of the collaboration of geneticists and engineers in developing crops and machines each adopted to the other for the purpose of mechanical harvesting. They expressed the opinion that if farm labor pay rates go up in the near future, mechanization will come that much faster. There was the feeling expressed, however, that although the need for hand labor will decrease, some hand labor will still be needed for the next fifty years; a further general opinion was that, increasingly, agricultural enterprise will become corporate enterprise and hence will involve the need for services such as truck driving and handling and loading of produce.

On May 5, 1959, the Staff obtained an interview with Mr. Jack Wolff, Business Manager for the Giffen Ranches. In past years this ranch had been the single largest provider of farm housing in Fresno County.

In summary, the information obtained from this interview indicated that the ranch had in past years maintained 10 labor camps including approximately 2,000 units with an average of 5 persons per unit or 10,000 people; maintenance of the camps required 20-25 full-time workers at an annual cost of approximately $50,000; the camps were a continual problem because of maintenance problems, public criticism, and law enforcement difficulties; during the past 4-5 years the camps were gradually discontinued, and the buildings burned until at present the ranch maintains no labor camps. Housing of a more substantial type is provided free of charge to about 300 year around employees who perform skilled or semi-skilled jobs.

Discontinuance of the camps has been made possible mainly through the increased use of mechanical cotton pickers. Day laborers are employed in fairly large numbers for a short period in the final "clean up" picking, and these workers are obtained through contractors working out of Fresno. The ranch uses no special contractors, but will contract with any man who produces the desired work.

Mr. Wolff expressed the opinion that use of contract labor is far less troublesome to the ranchers, and will probably continue to be the major pattern of employment. He too felt there may be an increase in need for hand labor when more water is available on the West Side of the county which would permit greater diversification of crops and introduction of tree and vine crops and vegetables. (For further details see Appendix.)

The Staff obtained an interview from the assistant general manager and personnel manager of the Frank Coit Ranch on June 3. The team had sought further information about this particular ranch operation because of comments they had heard since the inception of the study about the fact that this ranch was taking actual steps in an effort to secure supplies of permanent employees and to provide year-around employment for these employees. From the interview the study team felt that probably the Coit Ranch is moving in this direction, although much remains to be done before it can be determined if these efforts are successful and feasible. Examples of some of the things being done on the Coit Ranch are: a plan is being worked out to provide better housing on the ranch including the building of some units which are very similar to two and three bedroom homes being erected in lower-middle class suburbs today; the ranch has bought a sewage disposal plant which it is hoped will enable them to do away with the outdoor privies; there is some thought on the part of ranch management about the possibility of ultimately making the living area into a formalized settlement such as a small city. In terms of employment, Coit Ranch does not use labor contractors; to help provide year-around work there are jobs in the machine shops repairing and building ranch equipment, jobs repairing and building housing, and a small factory where fishing rods are made. (For further details of the Coit Ranch operation see Appendix.)

Final Consultation

In the months of both May and June, the Staff requested meetings with the Project Steering Subcommittee to report current progress and get the assistance of the Steering Subcommittee in some decisions which the Staff felt needed to be made. The first of these meetings was held on May 4, and the Staff reported progress with the life history interviews and the Steering Subcommittee asked the Staff to specifically include materials on health and medical care in addition to the other information being sought through the life history interviews. Questions were raised about the form which the study report should take as well as the timing of the report and the usages to which it might be put; as a result of these, it was decided to invite Mrs. Ruth Chance, Executive Director of the Rosenberg Foundation, to attend a meeting of the Steering Subcommittee in June. The June meeting was held on the 9th and the Staff summarized material obtained from the day-haul interviews; most of the rest of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of mechanics of handling the remaining funds, and the form and timing of the study report.

Following these meetings the Staff made plans for a second consultation with the experts. This consultation took place on June 11 and 12. Roughly, the schedule for the consultation was as follows: During the first morning, the Staff reported orally on the findings to date and orally summarized the reports of the three major investigations; this material in its written summary form and all the data gathered was then assembled and given to the consultants for their perusal during the afternoon and evening. The consultants thus had an opportunity to look at the detailed materials and even read as many individual interview records as they had time for; on the following day, during the morning, the Staff raised questions which they felt were so far unanswered and asked the consultants to give their suggestions regarding conceivable next steps. In the afternoon, Staff and consultants assembled with members of the Steering Subcommittee to discuss in a general sort of way the findings, general trends indicated so far, answer questions and exchange information.

The following material summarizes the suggestions and comments made by the consultants:

At a meeting of the Project Staff and the consultants at Dr. Beatty's home on June 12, 1959, the following suggestions were made by the consultants as possibilities for further study by the Staff. Some of these would be considered long-range subjects for study while others would be considered "experimental activities" preliminary to planning any 5-year action-research program.

I. Economic Problems

  A. Approaching unionization

    1. What will families face then?

  B. Increased mechanization

    1. Will this cause decrease in day-haul workers?

  C. Increased diversification in crops

    1. Will need for stoop labor become greater?

  D. The emerging patron system (such as Weeth and Coit Ranches)

    1. How well would it work in the long run?
    2. Can working families adapt to this type of community?
    3. How will parents train their young?
    4. How will people in their 20's prepare for social life in a society such as this?
    5. How would the school systems affect these communities?
    6. What is the basis for the "ranking" system used by the ranchers?
    7. Do workers know techniques for moving out?
    8. Can the workers communicate and learn about opportunities?
    9. With advent of water, would the entrepreneurs continue to want permanent help?
    10. What is the value system of this emerging patron system?
    11. How well do the workers understand the "cultural maze"?

II. Westside School

1. Do a follow-up study as to the effectiveness of the school program on students, parents, and home.
2. Find why avenues for mobility seem at an end after leaving school.

III. Fringe-area people

1. Obtain more information about their income.
2. See what could be done to get rid of obstacles to settling down, such as residence laws for obtaining services and registering to vote.
3. See what could be done about setting up records of where they have been and where they were born to aid in obtaining old age assistance, social security, and unemployment insurance.
4. See if the problems of children in camps and urban-fringe areas could be taken up at the White House Conference on Children and Youth in 1960.
5. Find why Mexican-Americans seem to have unrealistic aspirations while Negroes and Anglos are apathetic.
6. Assess the apathetic group to ascertain whether any of them can be rehabilitated or their children can be rehabilitated.
7. Carry family casework further to see if more clinics are needed.

IV. Day-haul Workers

1. Where do the workers live who go to the contractors?
2. Do problems of sanitation connected with them affect the health of others?
3. What do they do with their money? Is it socially destructive?
4. Would married day-haul men like to bring their families here?
5. If Braceros, Japanese, and Filipinos continue to be used, will they take the place of day-haul workers?

V. Special Studies

A. Work with the Community Council on their North Avenue and East Mendota projects in attempt to investigate any problem that the community feels is a problem such as: delinquency, moral values, illegal behavior, or the aged.

B. Make a study of the frustrations of second-generation Mexican-Americans.

C. Contact some history students about doing histories of towns and areas near Fresno. These could be expanded over the years and be useful in an action-research program.

Brief Summary of Major Findings

1. Present farm laborers in Fresno County

   a. All sources of information indicate that most farm laborers are now permanent state and county residents and are no longer migrant in the old pattern.

   b. Farm laborers in Fresno fall into these general groups:

      (1) The relatively stable laborers living with their families, settling in rural-urban fringe areas, who do not object to farm labor as such but feel their wages and working conditions are not good. This group seems to offer real promise in terms of being helped to upgrade their standards and circumstances.

      (2) The men separated from their families and living alone in flophouses who are often alcoholics or otherwise ill or social deviants; this group is much more transient and does farm labor only as a very last resort but would prefer some other occupation and would prefer not to be transient.

      (3) A comparatively small number of workers who live year-around on some ranches in fairly permanent housing and seem to have far fewer problems than either of the other groups.

2. Future need for farm laborers

   a. Consensus among agricultural experts is that greatly increased use of mechanization in total farm operations with almost all crops is possible in the near future, but that actual move toward more use of machine is directly tied to costs of hand labor. A cheap labor supply will prolong the realization of full mechanization.

   b. There are differences of opinion about forseeable use of hand labor as more tree, vine and vegetable crops are raised. Some experts and ranchers see a sharp increase in need for hand labor because machinery is not yet perfected. Others see a slow but continuing decrease in use of hand labor as replacement by machines is advanced. Consensus among all is that mechanization is tied to labor costs.

3. Pattern of employment

   a. Use of contract labor has increased greatly. Almost all of the "Day-Haul" workers, and most of the workers living in family groups report obtaining work through contractors as the dominant pattern.

   b. Ranch management indicates a preference for contract labor over use of the large scale labor camp.

   c. Contractors and laborers report that few laborers are covered by social security benefits through failure of the contractor to send in payroll tax. Of course, farm laborers are not, by and large, covered by other social insurance benefits such as unemployment insurance, disability insurance, etc.

4. Pattern of housing

   a. Large scale provision of free housing by ranchers is disappearing with one or two notable exceptions.

   b. Those ranches moving toward a pattern of mechanization and permanent employees already have or plan to provide low rent adequate housing to relatively few employees.

   c. Single men involved in the "Day Haul" pattern of work live mainly in flophouses.

   d. Farm workers living in family groups are settling and moving into "urban fringe" slum type housing. (More than 85% of those interviewed had lived in Fresno County more than two years.)

   e. A building code effective in Fresno County beginning January 1, 1959, should prevent new slum developments, but there is as yet no code covering existing housing.

5. Income levels

   a. Best available information puts hourly wage scale at 75 cents to 95 cents for more skilled jobs, as the prevailing wage on West Side farms. On East Side fruit ranches prevailing wage is $1 plus per hour.

   b. Incomplete information about annual incomes obtained from workers living in family groups indicates a majority (67%) of those who could give an estimate realize less than $2,500 per year total family income. And a majority (73%) of the total group set their financial status at the same level or below that which their parents had.

   c. U. S. Department of Labor News, USDL-2886, states, "In 1957, farm workers who worked 25 or more days per year earned on the average of $892 per year from farm and nonfarm sources.

   d. Fresno Community Council's intensive door-to-door survey of a typical fringe area found an average family income (for 64 families surveyed) of $1,990; 83% of these families earned $3,000 per year or less.

6. Law enforcement

   a. There was consensus among all informants that there is a serious shortage of law enforcement personnel in the rural areas, and that much lawlessness in these areas results.

   b. In the opinion of law enforcement personnel interviewed the growing "urban fringe slum" presents the most serious group of law enforcement problems.

RECOMMENDATIONS--OR WHAT WE THINK SHOULD BE DONE

Based on the analysis of all the materials utilized and the information obtained during this six-months' period, the members of the study team list the following as their recommendations to the Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee and the Rosenberg Foundation:

1. The staff members believe that existing conditions are such and the possibilities for positive accomplishment great enough to warrant further application for funds for the study of farm labor in Fresno County; however, we wish to make it clear that we do not feel it our province as members of the professional study team to suggest the form that an application for such funds might take, the source from which such funds might be requested, nor the exact nature and outline of any possible study or research project; we feel that these are policy matters which need to be decided upon by an appropriate group of citizenry who will consider the needs and plan accordingly. In our view further study or research should include both action and research aspects in terms of the following subpoints.

    a. Study of schools.

    An intensive study should be made to follow up on the students who have been exposed to an educational experience at the Westside School to determine how successful this very unique program has been in causing changes of value-attitude systems of the children of farm workers; additionally, it might be well to make a similar follow-up study of children of similar background going through an educational experience in another Fresno County school which does not have the same program, approach, or reputation in this area as the Westside School.

b. An investigation of the effects of an operation of a ranch in the Weeth-Coit pattern.

The practicability of the operation of this kind of ranching venture needs to be further investigated as does the actual effect of working for this kind of operation on the part of the laborer involved; for example, there might be comparisons made between workers in these settings and farm workers in traditional farm settings along many different significant dimensions; additionally, there would be value to this approach because of the possibility that future trends may make something like this type of operation more common in the valley.

c. An application of the UNESCO living-in plan.

A subsequent study might well experiment with the type of approach developed by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization in which selected members of the group who either already have advanced training and education (or who might be given such advanced training and education) return to live with their original group and become either leaders or catalysts within their little communities to help raise the standards and aspiration levels of their groups.

d. The utilization of Point-Four type educational scholarships.

Either in connection with the above point or separate from it, a way could be arranged for the selection of people of superior potentialities and abilities from the farm labor group to make possible the realization of these potentialities whether it might be in the direction of advanced academic training, apprenticeships, or other occupational training or even of professional and graduate training.

e. An investigation into factors involved in the apparently disproportionate amount of juvenile delinquency among Mexican-American group members.

f. A further grant might provide the means to supplement the work of existing agencies or resources or provide new directions for programs for existing agencies and resources in areas such as the following.

   (1) Additional research could study the effectiveness of the Fresno Community Council's rural development program and uncover needed areas on a priority basis in the county for the extension of this program.

   (2) Demonstration projects could be arranged in connection with the County Schools Department and possibly the International Institute to illustrate the importance of and the means of achieving citizenship on the part of those elements in the farm labor population, young or old, who do not yet have American citizenship. (Particularly significant in terms of older members of families no longer able to be productive who might through citizenship qualify for the Old Age Security program.)

   (3) A pilot project might well be established at East Mendota for the purpose of helping this community help itself and for making available to it special resources which it might need in such a process.

   (4) A program for the extension of a family-services type of approach to farm laborers, particularly those in the fringe areas who are undergoing the problems related to settling and stabilization attempts at the present time.

   (5) A program for the extension of group work and recreational and informal educational services to families and children of farm laborers throughout the county.

(6) A study in connection with existing employers, educational facilities, employment services, and labor sources of the possible implications of increasing unionization of farm workers and of mechanization of farm operation; this study aspect would be concerned not so much with discovered and existing problems as with the discovery and hence possible prevention of problems likely to arise both in the near future and over the long run. (While the study was in progress, several news stories appeared in California newspapers referring to AFL-CIO plans to begin organizing drives among agricultural workers in the valley.)

(7) A current study and evaluation of the West Side Health Clinics (which appear to be extremely valuable medical resources to farm laborers and the total community) to determine if changed conditions have altered the appropriate approach and whether or not any expansion is indicated.

2. Utilization of existing resources.

It is the feeling of the study staff that within Fresno County at present there are resources, services and agencies and programs which could be of more assistance to the farm laborers than they presently are; it is our conviction that these helping services need to coordinate better an approach to the farm worker, to ease the farm worker's access to their services and to avoid confusion of him for any sort of jurisdictional conflicts or disputes which might arise. The study team staff feels that within the community at present there exists the major vehicle for accomplishing this sort of coordination and social planning, namely the Fresno Community Council; we feel that agencies should be encouraged and invited to utilize the Council more actively than they are at present doing and that the Council should assume leadership for this type of activity through the organization of either such committees or such sections of its structure as might be necessary. It is the further recommendation of the study team directed at existing agencies and services that the greater use of better trained workers would also result in more effective accomplishment with the farm labor population; it is the staff's observation that better trained workers are more inclined to see the total problem and to understand the total approach rather than losing focus by being concerned solely by immediate factors such as a given family's eligibility or lack of it for an agency's program. It is the further recommendation of the study staff that part of the proposals made above could be accomplished without the need for extensive further funds or dependent research projects; the staff feels that within Fresno County now there is the possibility of taking steps in a small way, at least, to effectuate some of the points raised above even though their fullest development might await a future grant. Among these are the points referred to above under 1. f. (1) through (5). For example, the Community Council's rural development program is already under way and can continue to grow and develop but should have the support and assistance of as many other community resources as possible; there is no reason why on a limited scale, at least, demonstration citizenship projects involving the Fresno County School system and the International Institute could not be planned and attempted as a basis for later, broader application; the existing door-to-door study being done at East Mendota by several cooperating agencies and the Fresno Community Council should be carried through to completion and then practical application made of the findings and results by the most concerned agencies; existing sources and recreational services, as well as additional educational programs, might well take steps to begin extending family-service type programs, group work and recreational services and other informal educational experiences to sections of the community where farm laborers are settling down, deprived of these services (a start has already been made in this direction, for example, by the Girl Scouts); in summary the staff feels that existing programs could be much more effectively utilized than they are at present.

The problem of policing the fringe areas is an extremely difficult one; the present system of constables seems most ineffective. There is every evidence that both the sheriff's men and the various city police are working as effectively as possible but are overwhelmed with too few men and too many restrictions. This situation needs further study and action by the various units of government involved.

Furthermore, the Staff is of the opinion that a practical evaluation of the West Side Health Clinic program could be carried out with present resources, perhaps with the Fresno Community Council taking a major responsibility.

3. Economic implications.

The problem of making a recommendation in this area is complicated by the fact that there is no direct and simple source to whom it may be assigned; however, the study team feels that it should be clearly evident at this time that farm labor in Fresno County comprises an underprivileged, underpaid, improperly fed, ill-housed, poorly clothed, inadequately socially protected (including such basic protection as fire, police, health and medical care, social insurances, etc.), poorly educated (in terms of general education and in terms of their rights and responsibilities in the community) but still a significantly large segment of the total community. As long as this group is kept in this status it seems inevitable that they as well as the whole community will suffer. The study team cannot present conclusive data on income level of farm labor families; however, we do feel that there is ample indication that the income derived annually by a vast majority of farm labor families is totally inadequate to maintain anything like a mimimum-subsistence level of living standard. Furthermore, the study team rejects on the basis of interviews with farm laborers, people who work with them in the capacity of employers, foremen, labor contractors, and the various agencies, the assumptions and assertions sometimes irresponsibly made that as a group these people's (farm laborers') problems are of their own bringing about, that they are in effect poor planners, improvident, unresourceful, unconcerned with the care of their children, etc. The study team feels that among the farm labor group there are people who fall into these asserted categories; however, we also feel that there are significantly large numbers of farm labor families who are as resourceful, provident, as responsible, etc. as members of other occupational class groups in the community, but who cannot, despite all these characteristics, maintain an adequate standard of living and aspiration level for themselves and their children. Therefore, the study team recommends in effect, "to whom it may concern," that steps need to be taken immediately to bring about more equitable rates of pay, better housing, better educational opportunity, better police and fire protection, increased access to medical care, and all the other advantages which might be expected to accrue to citizens in our wealthy, productive economy. We feel that income is basic; but we also feel that steps can be taken in other directions which will help raise the standards for farm laborers in Fresno County today.

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A Projected Pilot Project for Upgrading of Migratory Agricultural Workers in Fresno County, California

Phase One

1. Basic Survey of the problem--development of a sociological baseline.

   1.1 Study and survey the literature, previous studies and reports on migratory workers

   1.2 Sample workers by interviews, questionnaires, observations, etc.

   1.3 Determine the core "value system" of the migratory worker in order to determine his motivation, areas of resistance to change, areas where change is possible, best methodology to be employed to innovate changes, level of expectations.

      1.31 Mexican

      1.32 Negro

      1.33 White

2. From the Basic Survey develop a "profile" of a typical migratory worker as developed from the "value system" of each of the sub-cultural groups as outlined in 1.3 above.

3. Develop program objectives which include the "felt-needs" of the worker as expressed in the sample interview, questionnaire, etc.

Phase Two

1. Select zone or camps where program is desired

2. Determine project objectives

   2.1 Felt-needs approach
   (Community felt-needs in consideration with project personnel felt-needs evolve real needs from which can be developed the major objectives of the program in priority.)

   2.2 Determine which objectives are achievable in terms of resources; financial, personnel, time, etc.

3. Project program

   3.1 Major objectives as determined by 2.1 and 2.2

   3.2 Spell out objectives in behavioral terms

   3.3 Determine areas where program objectives are to be applied

   3.4 Determine personnel, institutions, methodology and program operations to accomplish program objectives

3.5 Provide for concurrent program evaluation

4. Evaluation

4.1 Develop techniques, methods and instruments that can be used to determine if the objectives are being achieved, their direction and rate of progress.

4.2 Determine areas to be evaluated

4.3 Analyze and diagnose data obtained from 4.1

4.4 Plan remedial action and/or redefine objectives in light of 4.3

4.5 Prepare reports, oral and written, and maintain adequate records.

(Working draft. For use)
(by the Committee only.)
(Not for circulation.)

FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION of SEASONAL FARM WORKERS

A project proposed by the
Fresno Rural Health and
Education Committee

February 1958

FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION OF SEASONAL FARM WORKERS

Background

Those who have never seen the San Joaquin Valley need a brief sketch of the background. From north to south it is divided in the middle by a railroad and "Highway 99." The terms "east-side" refer to this dividing line which marks such a profound difference in conditions. To the east are the Sierra Nevada Mountains, snow-capped the year round and the source of water for the many east-side farm communities which have been settled and prosperous for generations.

On the other side of the valley is the vast "west-side," 250 miles long and 100 miles wide, until a decade ago a dry, flat, treeless and almost uninhabited expanse. Then by a remarkable feat of engineering, water was brought to the land. The boom that followed made California the largest cotton producing state and Fresno the largest cotton producing county in the United States. Similar to many other areas in the southwestern states the west-side ranches are very large holdings ranging from 3,000 acres to 68,000 or more in size. Upon this ocean of cotton are located upward of 450 camps housing from 500 to 2,000 laborers in each camp. No towns of any size exist on the west-side. The nearest thing to a community is the camp itself. Elementary schools are sprinkled over the area, but a child wishing to go on to high school must make a round trip of as much as 80 or 90 miles a day in a school bus from the more remote camps. A similar distance must be traveled to reach the County Hospital. Want of the simple facilities of most towns makes it unusually difficult to extend to this area the regular services offered to the rest of the public.

The usual cotton picking season starts in September and lasts until January. Cotton is the last crop of the year and when the work ends many of the workers have no place else to go. Cotton chopping or thinning does not start until April, so there is a three or four-month period of unemployment. Some of the growers permit the pickers and their families to stay on in the camps through the winter while waiting for the work to start. Savings run low, clothes and cars are traded for food. Little help can be had from the Welfare Department because of residence requirements, so before long many families are subsisting on the meager unbalanced diet offered by the available surplus commodities.

Introduction

For the past nine years a group of citizens of the San Joaquin Valley in California have been working together to try to improve the living conditions, the health and education of the seasonal farm workers and their families. For this purpose the group has incorporated itself as the Fresno Rural Health and Education Committee.* Three principal projects have been carried on by various members of the Committee:

1. Health Centers for Agricultural Workers.†
2. The Handbook, "Teaching Children Who Move With the Crops."†
3. Home Demonstration work in labor camps by the Agricultural Extension Service.†

All of these projects have been partially financed by the Rosenberg Foundation. All have resulted in improvement of professional services to farm workers' families. With this experience behind, the Committee wishes to broaden its scope and try to face some of the deeper and more basic problems that remain.

A. Problem:

There are three main cultural groups among others in the area, the Mexican-Indian, the Anglo-American and the Negro-American. Among all three groups there appears to be a large element that comes from relatively primitive backward areas who find themselves ill-equipped to get along in the modern western 20th century world. Their primary difficulty is that they do not know how to set up a community of their own where necessary, or how to join the existing community. They do not know how to become fully participating citizens of our country, how to share in the rights and responsibilities. They are intelligent and valuable members of our society if understanding exists on both sides. Much of their potential value is wasted for lack of health education and most of all, understanding. This is an essential group of workers in our economy, but due to the seasonal nature of their work in agriculture each year they go through a period of idleness and deprivation. Few manage to supplement their income with work in industry, or to fill their idle time productively. For lack of ability to solve this problem of seasonal unemployment, local counties have in varying degrees given bare minimum subsistence to tide these families over till the next season. Little or no effort has been made to give them the fundamental education and training which might make it possible for them to be self-reliant citizens of this modern age.

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* Appendix A †Appendix B

B. Questions: 1. How can we learn to understand these people better?
2. How can they learn to help themselves?

Professional workers and volunteers in agencies coming in contact with the seasonal farm workers have again and again expressed the desire to gain a deeper understanding of the motivations, desires and values of these people. Teachers, for example, welcomed with great enthusiasm the Handbook, "Teaching Children Who Move With the Crops." There is, however, little or nothing for the teacher of adults of a similar nature. There are few tools developed for the teacher of fundamantal education for these groups.

Doctors, nurses, social workers, youth workers, home demonstration workers and many other persons giving services to this group need help in bridging the big cultural gap that lies between them. They want to understand why the farm worker is eager to learn at one time and flatly refuses to participate in any effort to teach him at another time. What are the stone walls of resistance and what are the ways around them?

This is not a one-way street, however. Part of the problem is understanding what the settled community wants of the migrant worker. What does the grower want of him? What does the public health department want him to do or to be? What does the church want him to be? What do the "Property Tax Payers" want of him? What do the merchants, the schools, the police, the city fathers and all the others want of him?

Perhaps by putting the value system of the migrant worker along side of the value system of the settled community, we may be able to find ways of working together more harmoniously to achieve better living conditions for the worker in the community.

C. Procedure

Phase One

1. Basic survey of the problem. A short intensive period of review of the previous studies and reports on cultural groups among migratory or seasonal farm workers by all members of the field staff and research analyst under supervision of the director.

2. Using the staff and as many trained workers as they are able to supervise properly, interview a preliminary sample of farm workers of the three major types: a. Mexican b. Negro c. Anglo ("Okie")

Develop a reasonably valid system of determining their core value system, areas of resistance to change, areas where change is possible, best methods to be employed to innovate changes, levels of expectation possible. Use whatever method seems to evoke the best response (Questionnaire, interview, etc.)

3. From the basic survey develop a profile of a typical farm worker as it emerges from the value system of each of the subcultural groups listed above.

4. List those program objectives which have been expressed as felt-needs by the farm workers in this preliminary survey.

Phase Two

(Bear in mind that a large representative body of citizens are now ready and willing to back the project and cooperate with the director.)

1. Select areas where action program is desired, within five counties surrounding Fresno.

An east-side "fringe area," or unincorporated community.
A west-side labor camp. An east-side camp.
A west-side "cross-road" where former camp dwellers are trying to settle, or the slum fringe of a city. (Fresno)

2. Interview a representative cross section of the community in which the "action" program is to take place, to determine the value system of the settled community, or its felt-needs, in relation to the migrant farm workers.

3. Check the felt-needs of the workers, in each area selected.

4. Determine the project objectives by comparing the two sets of values and set up "real needs"--those where there is an area of agreement.

5. Determine which objectives are achievable in terms of resources, financial and personnel.

6. Make a plan to achieve the objective and move forward to accomplish it.

D. Concurrent Evaluation

Under Phase One and Two, techniques, methods, and instruments must be developed to determine if the objectives are being achieved. The direction and rate of progress must be measured. Areas to be evaluated should be selected, and the data gathered from them should be analyzed. If the objectives are not being achieved, remedial action should be planned or the objectives should be redefined in the light of the data obtained. Throughout adequate reports and records should be maintained..

E. From the data gathered will come valuable material for all those who live and work among these groups. Good tools for teaching at all levels of age should become available through this material. This means that all techniques of recording should be used, from slides, films, and tape recordings to written material.

F. Duration of the Project.

It is expected that the project should last for five years. The first year would probably be devoted to the gathering of information for the basic survey, and the selection of the areas in which the action would take place and the analysis of the factors present in the area, and the determining of "program objectives" in the area. The next four years would be devoted to a careful recording of the efforts to carry out these objectives.

G. Personnel

The Director of the Project should be/highly qualified social scientist well trained in the fields of sociology, anthropology, psychology, and community organization. If possible, he should be someone familiar with the setting and background of this segment of the population. He should be a tactful and diplomatic person who understands how to work with a wide variety of people in a community all of whom do not see eye to eye. He should be skillful enough to be able to plan an "action" program which will add to basic science. The theoretical knowledge gained in the research should be constantly tested in action as the program moves forward--or as the community organization is affected. He may not necessarily have to devote full time to the project, but must guide the staff of social scientists under him.

The Field Staff: The field staff has been planned as being, possibly, one social scientist from each of the 3 subcultural fields, Mexican, Negro, and "Anglo." There should be in addition 3 professional people, bringing with them a background in some such field as: teaching, agricultural farm advising, public health nursing, social work, home demonstration work, mental health, manual arts teaching, citizenship training, community organization, recreation or similar skills. They should all have training in the fields of sociology, anthropology and psychology. Some should be skilled in the use of photography to record their work.

Consultants: There should be a team of consultants whom the director could call upon to give every assistance to the staff when needed.

Research Analyst

Stenographer and Clerk

H. Local Sponsor: RURAL HEALTH AND EDUCATION COMMITTEE, INC.

The group of citizens who have come together to make this plan are trying to find the resources with which to carry it forward. They want to be related to the project only in such a way as to be local interpreters, supporters and backers where necessary. They do not intend to interfere once the program has been agreed upon. In a sense they represent the community which is being studied as a part of the basic survey. They are ready to participate as the Director needs them.

THE FRESNO RURAL HEALTH AND EDUCATION COMMITTEE

The Fresno Rural Health and Education Committee, Inc. is composed of a group of representative citizens of the San Joaquin Valley in California, Among the group are both small and large growers, doctors, lawyers, ministers of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths, representatives of the public health committees of the labor camps chosen by the workers in the camps. Mexican-American, Japanese, Negro, and other cultural groups, and local civic and business representatives. A planning and advising group called the Inter-Agency Committee has played a major part in gathering information and bringing proposals to the main body for discussion, rejection or approval. This group is composed of representatives of the following agencies:

The Fresno County Health Department
The Fresno County School Department
The Fresno County Welfare
The Red Cross
The Fresno County Hospital
Fresno State College
The Agricultural Extension Service
The Fresno County Probation Department
The Girl and Boy Scouts
The Division of Home Missions of the National Council of Churches
The Fresno Coordinating Council
Catholic Welfare

State agencies have been invited to sit in and advise from time to time as the various projects were being planned.

The first situation that sparked the formation of this body was the much publicized deaths of twenty-eight infants from dehydration and malnutrition. These infants like many before them died of a disease known as "shigellesis" a form of dysentery, andemic in the San Joaquin Valley over many years. This disease, not yet fully understood by the medical profession, was in process of being studied by U.S.P.H.S. Survey teams. These publicized infant deaths gave great impetus to the search for the cause of the disease which seemed to be responsible for the high infant mortality rate of the Valley. The citizens of the area bonded together to do what they could to help track down the deadly disease under the guidance of the U.S.P.H.S. making a survey of 7,000 children. As a follow-up the Camp Public

Health committees and the Inter-Agency Team and the growers and the whole community formed the permanent body known as the Fresno Rural Health and Education Committee, Inc. Their first formal venture was the setting up of the Westside Clinics for the migratory agricultural families and others in that area. These included Well-Baby Clinics, but most important of all the General Medical Clinics in which the whole family was taken care of as a unit by a team of professional persons headed by an M.D. general practitioner, nurses, nutritionists, home demonstration teachers, etc.

These clinics were started as a demonstration project by the Committee with a cash grant of $53,000.00 from the Rosenberg Foundation and $93,000.00 from local private citizens. The demonstration proved sufficiently successful so that at the end of the two-year demonstration period, the county government assumed the operation cost as public program.

As a result, in this area the infant mortality rate dropped significantly.

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Published by AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NURSING, No. 2 Park Ave., New York, N.Y.

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THEN THE MIGRANT FAMILIES COME AGAIN, Jan. 1955, pp. 12-13.
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State Dept. of Public Health, 2151 Berkeley Way, Berkeley 4, Calif.

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SEARCH MAGAZINE, August, 1951, pp. 22-24.
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45 Second St., San Francisco 5, California

EXTENSION SERVICE WORK WITH AGRICULTURAL LABORERS
Anna Garner and Lillian Johnson, Home Advisors
Mimeo. June 20, 1950, 9 pp.
State Office, Agricultural Extension Service
University of California, Berkeley 4, California

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA EXTENSION SERVICE PROGRAM WITH AGRICULTURAL WORKERS
Irene Fagin, Program Director
Mimeographed, 9 pp. 1950.
Agricultural Extension Service, University of California, Berkeley 4, Calif.

Appendix B - 3

OPENING NEW DOORS FOR CHILDREN OF MIGRANTS THROUGH A GIRL SCOUT PROGRAM
Grace N. Maxwell
Reprinted from the SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW, Vol. XXIX, No. 2, June, 1955.

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Roy E. Simpson, Supt. of Public Instruction
CTA Journal, Vol. 50, No. 1, January 1954, pp. 19 and 26, 27, 28.

NEW HOPE FOR THE MIGRANT
Anne Roller Isler. THE SURVEY, Feb., 1951, pp. 78-80.
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THE LATEST REPORT ON THE JOADS
Anne Roller Isler. THE SURVEY, July, 1951, pp. 318-321.

SOMETHING FOR THE JOADS
Anne Roller Isler. THE SURVEY, May, 1952, pp. 119-203.
112 East 19 St., New York 3, N.Y.

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United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Standards, Washington 25, D.C.

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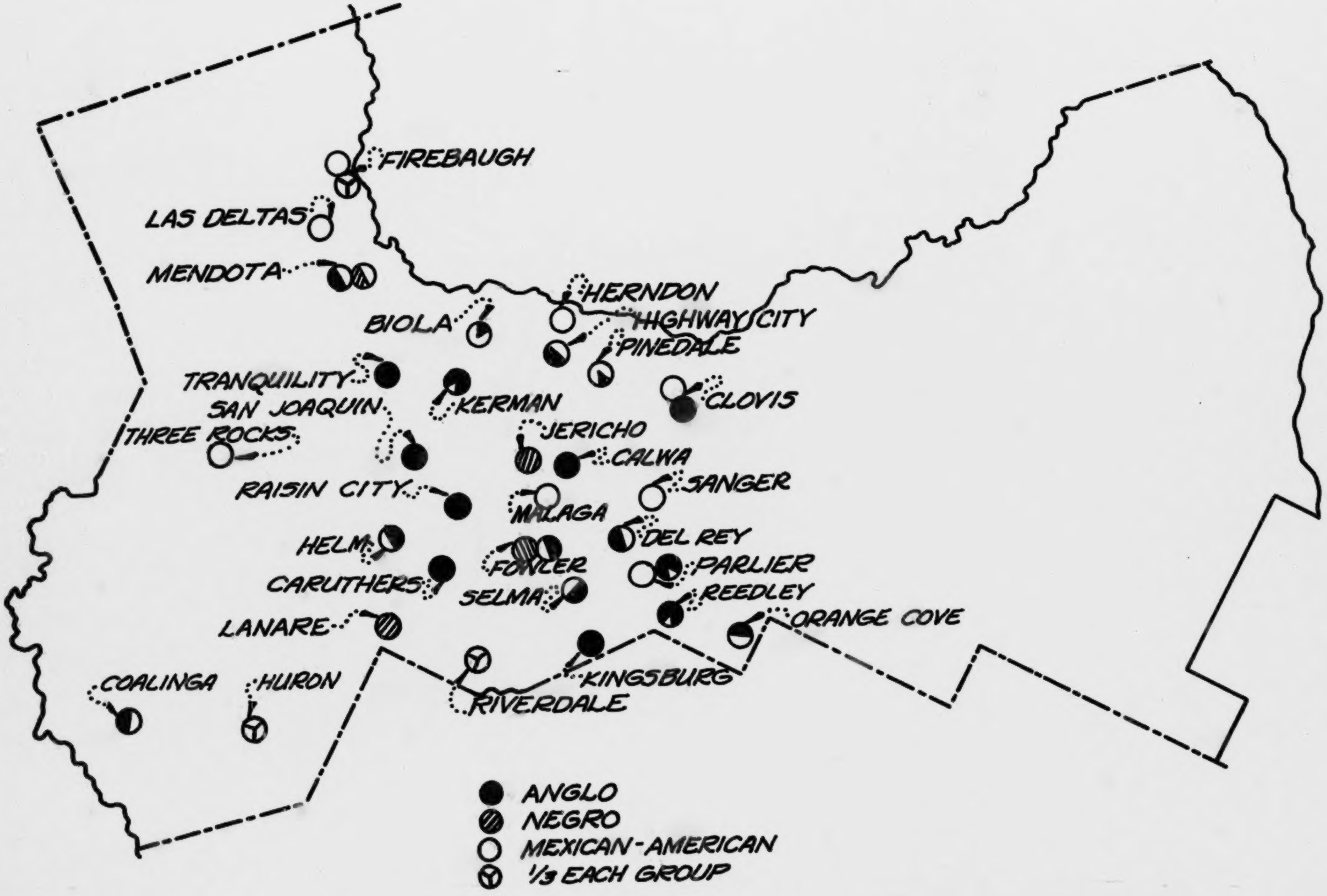
The San Joaquin Valley Health Project
Florence R. Wyckoff
83d Annual Forum of the National Conference of Social Work, June, 1955.
Reprinted by the National Consumers Committee for Research and Education
348 Engineers Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.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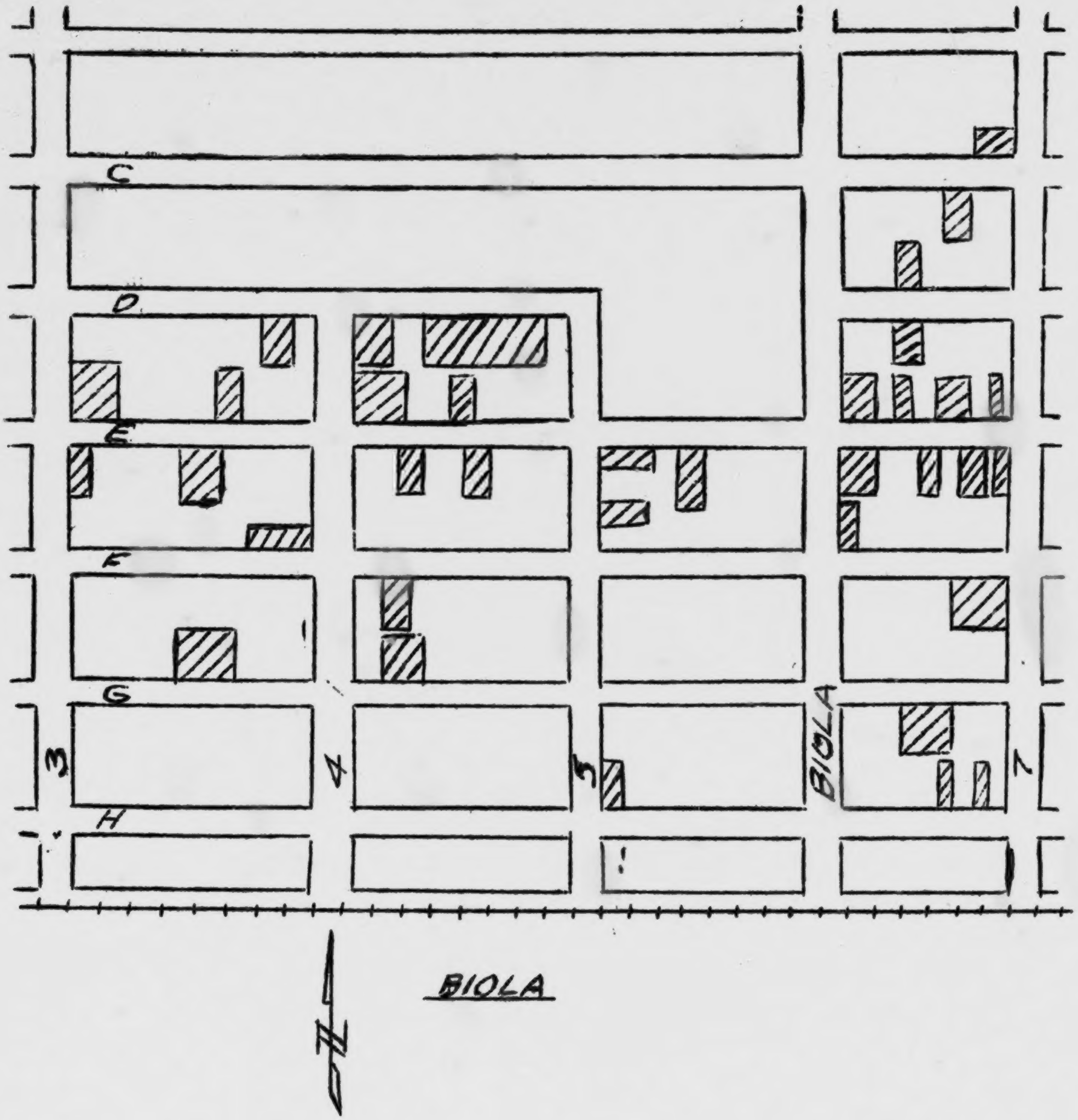
JERICHO
CALWA
SANGER
RAISIN CITY
MALAGA
DEL REY
HELM
FOWLER
PARLIER
CARUTHERS
SELMA
REEDLEY
LANARE
ORANGE COVE
KINGSBURG
COALINGA
HURON
RIVERDALE
● ANGLO
▨ NEGRO
○ MEXICAN-AMERICAN
1/3 EACH GROUP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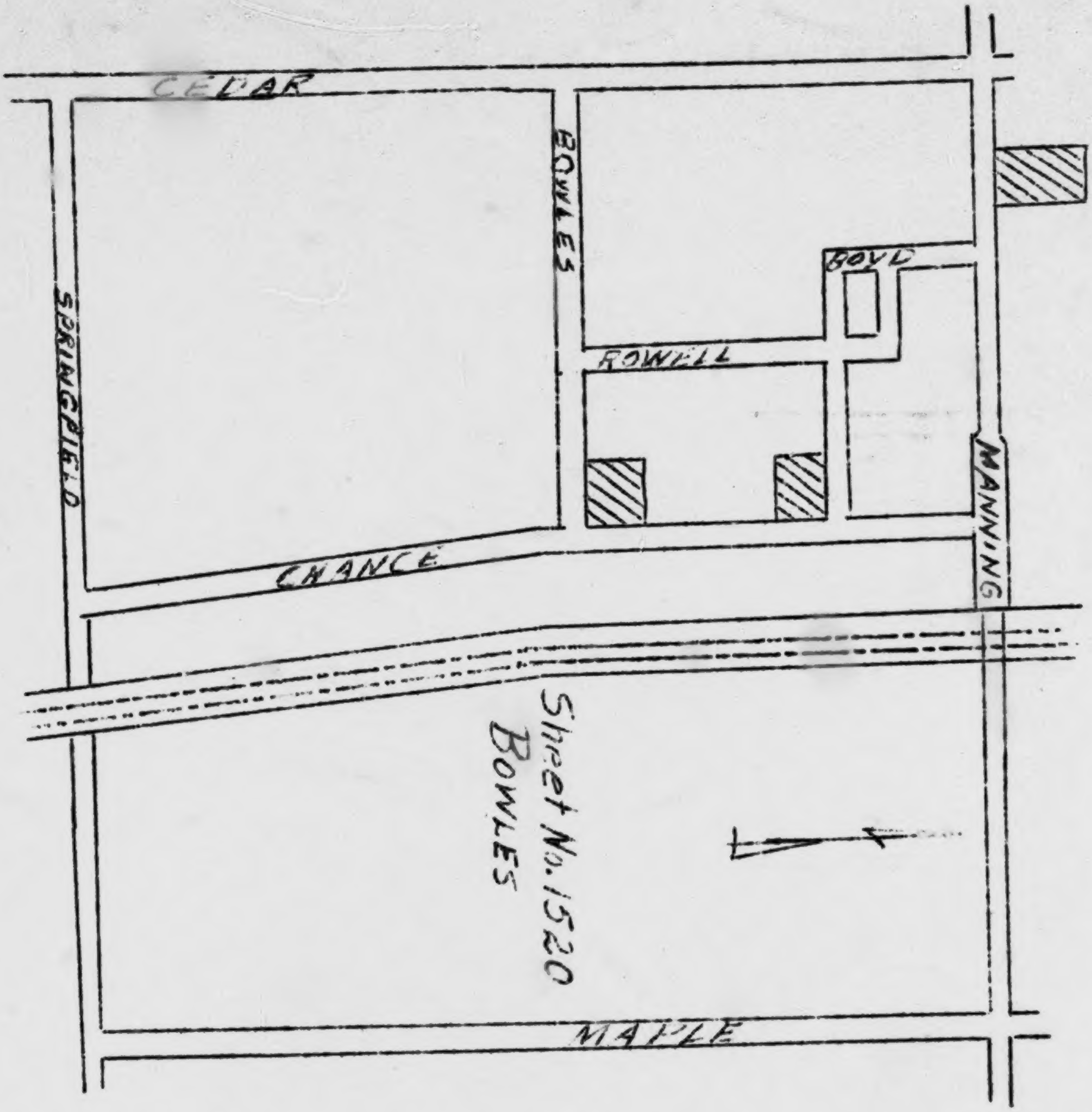
NOTE: Lined areas on maps indicate areas which contain substandard housing. Many of these blighted areas are occupied primarily by families whose main employment is in farm labor.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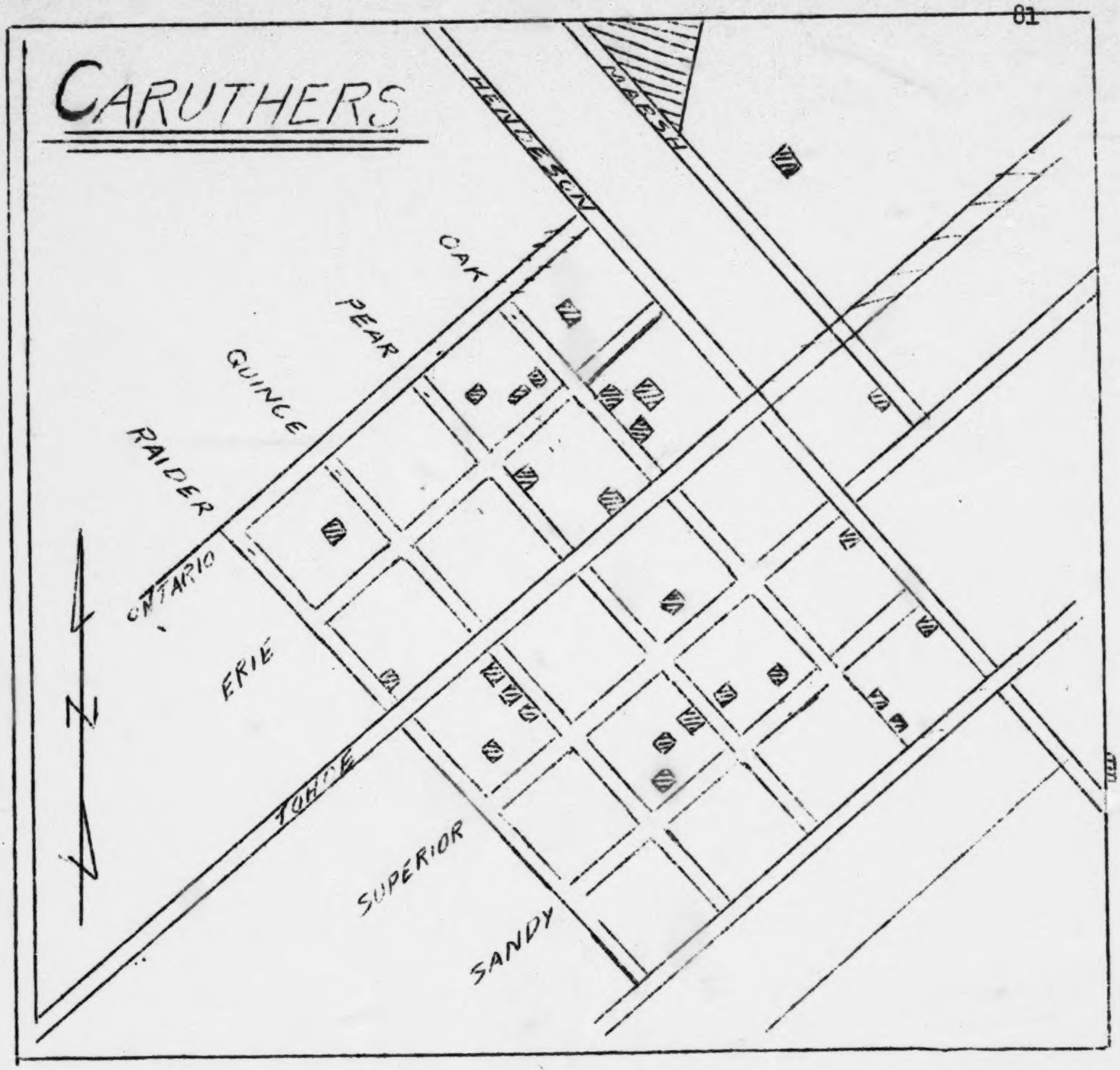
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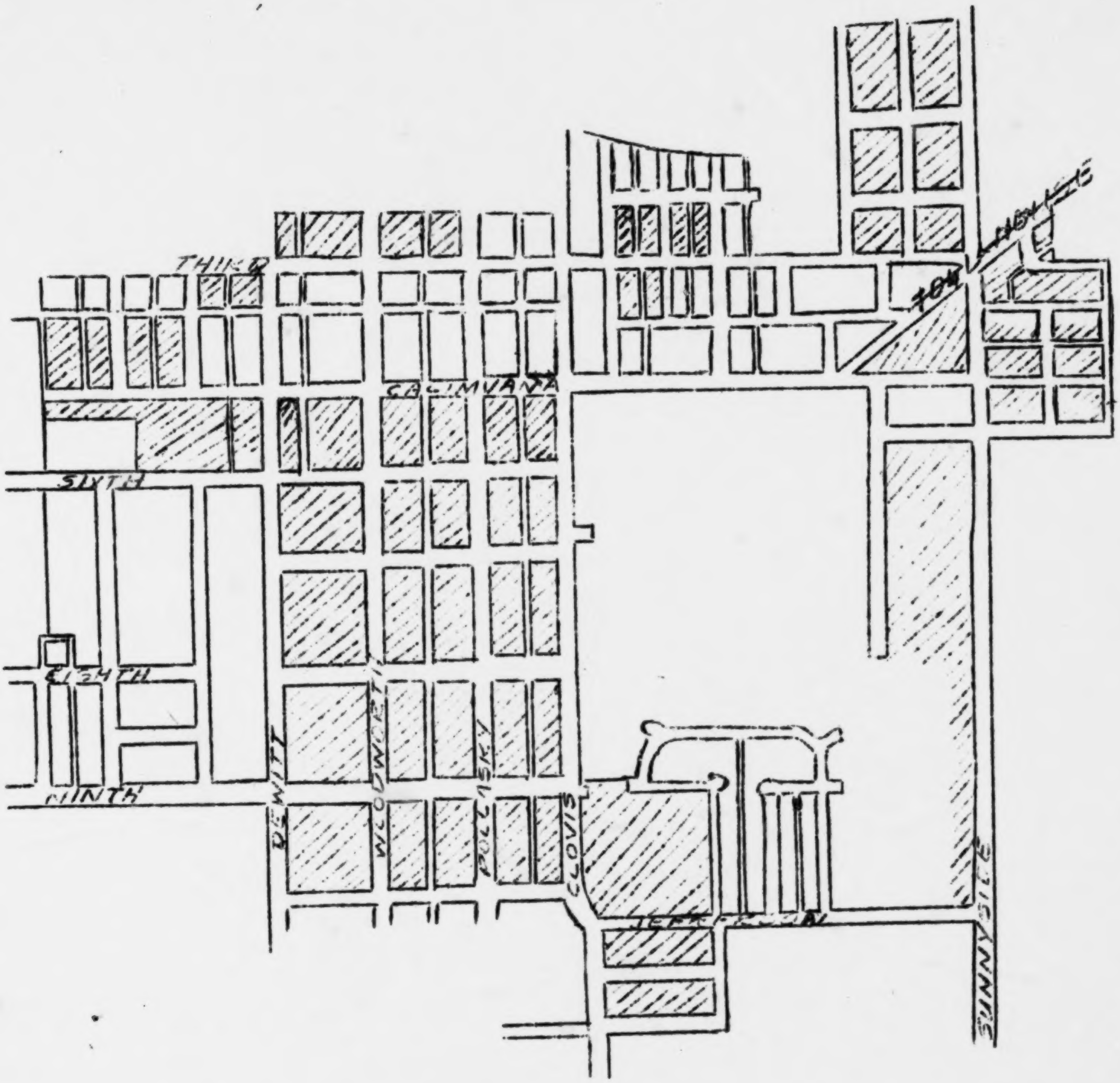
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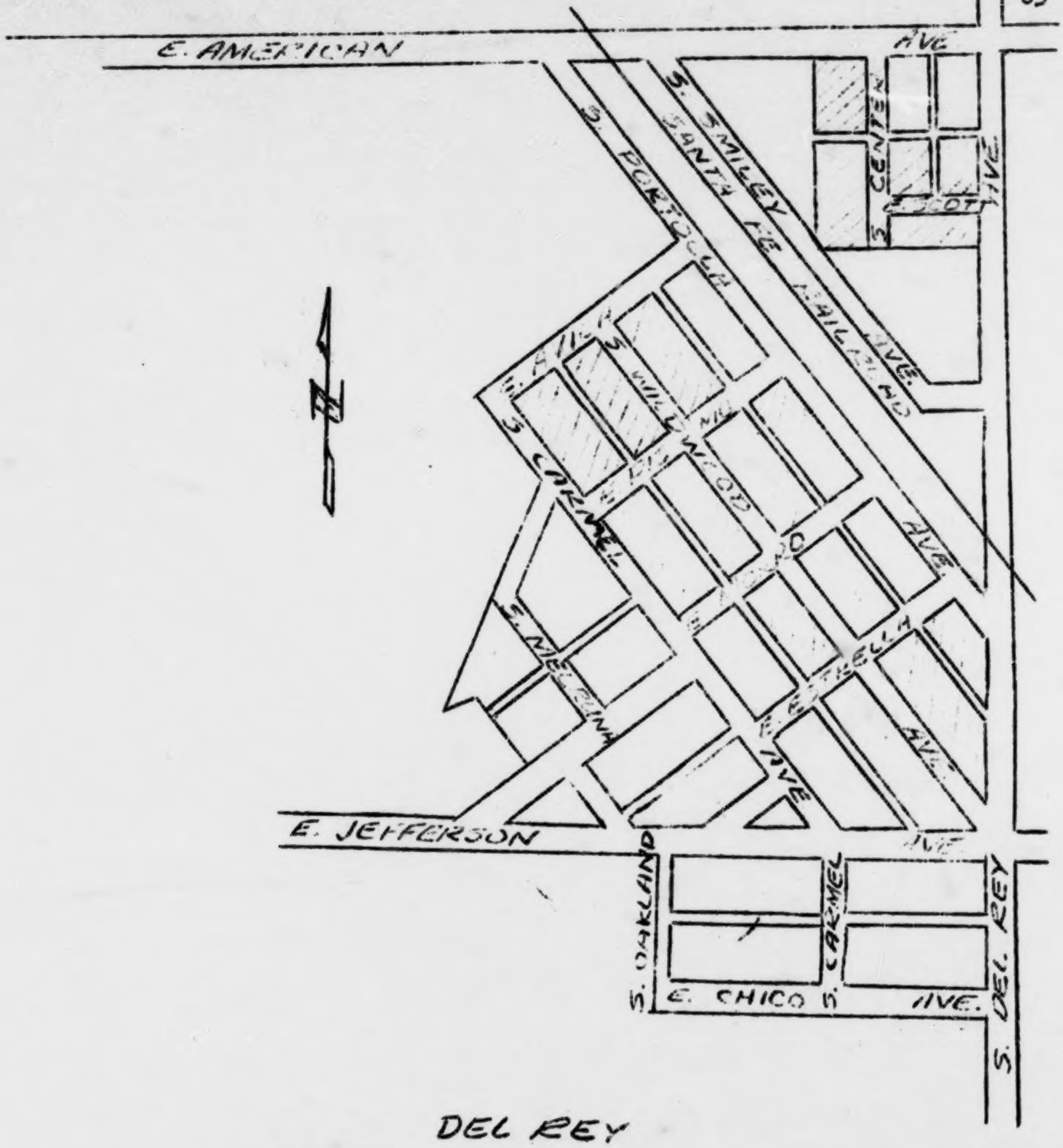
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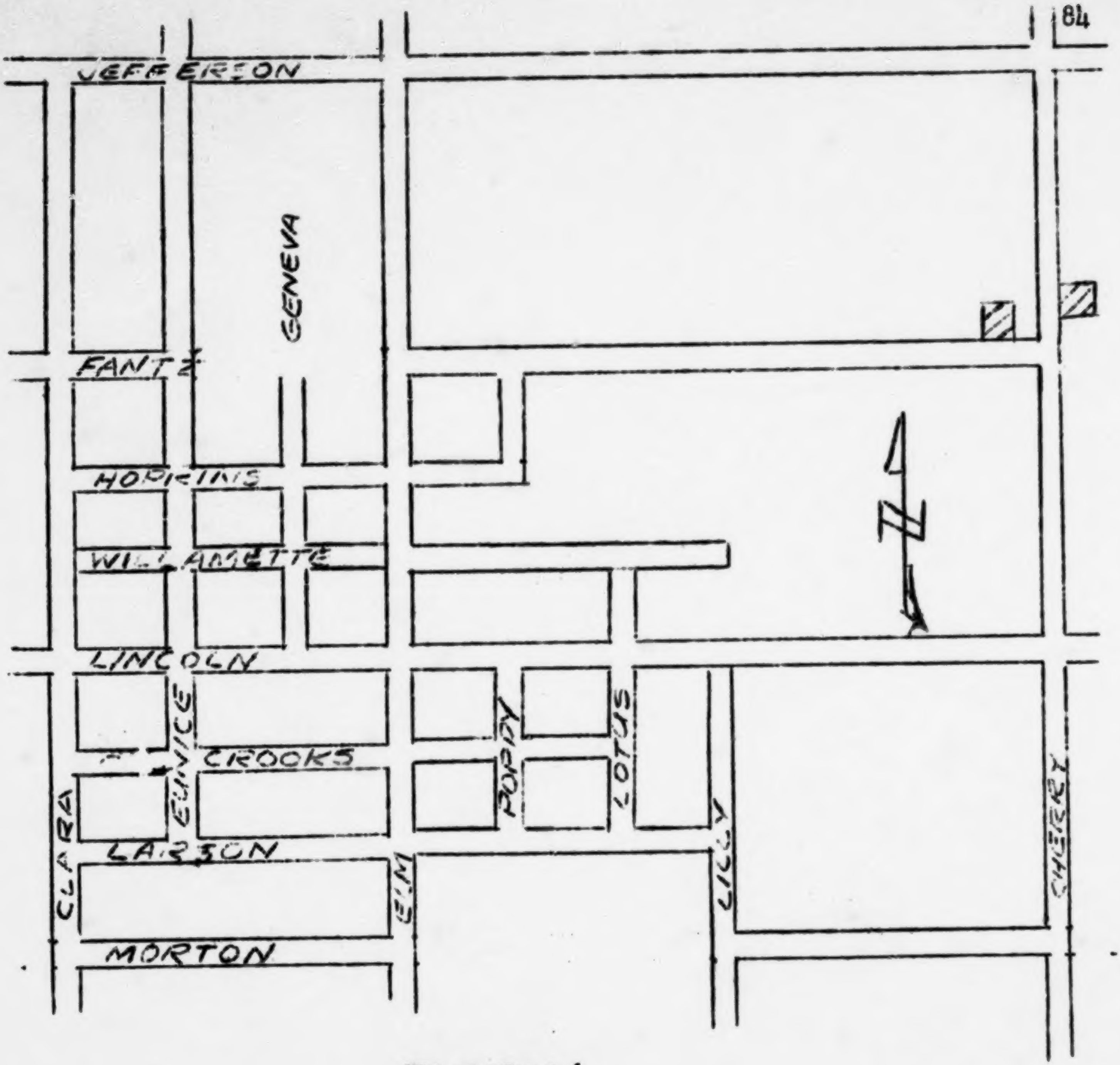
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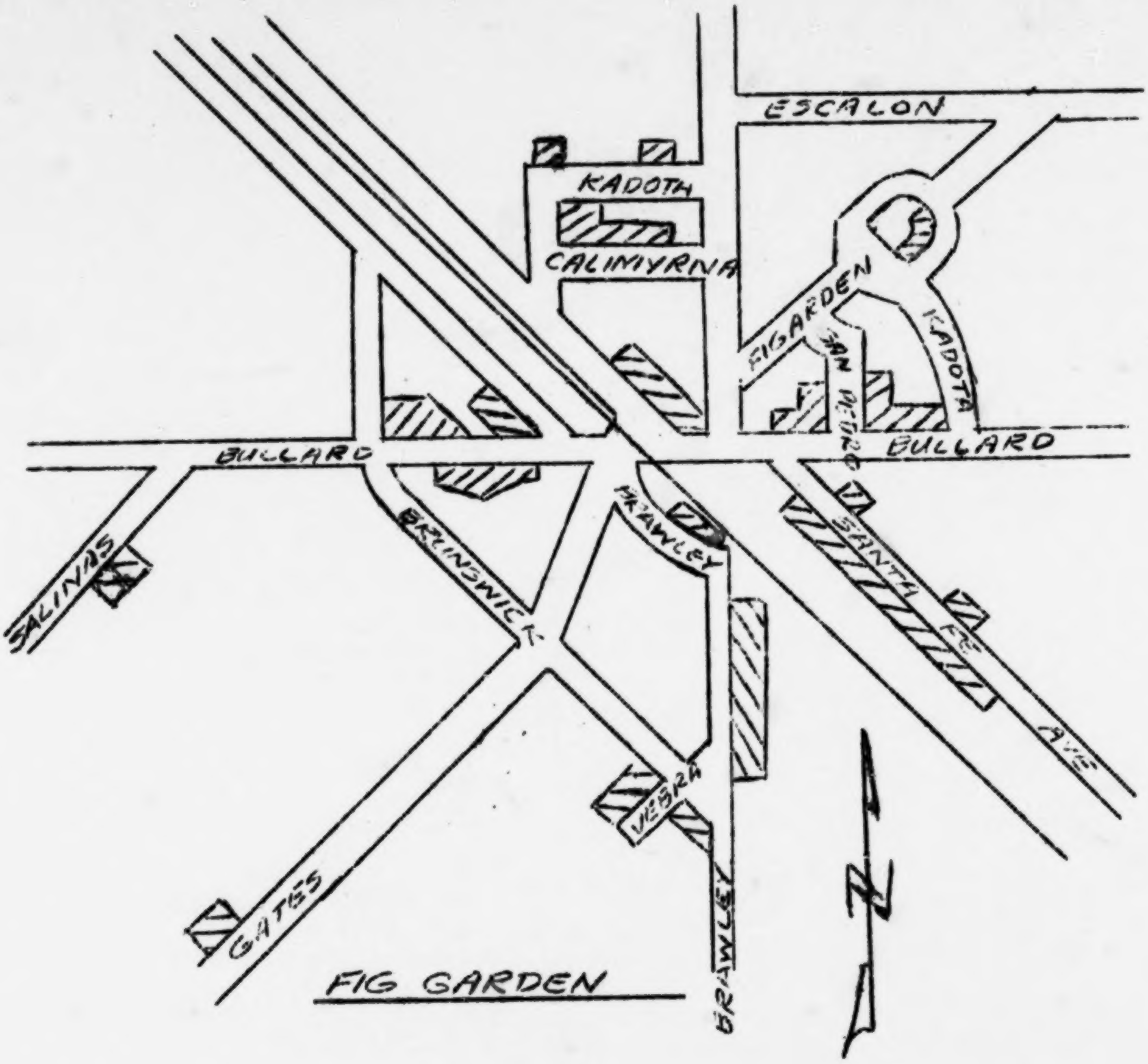
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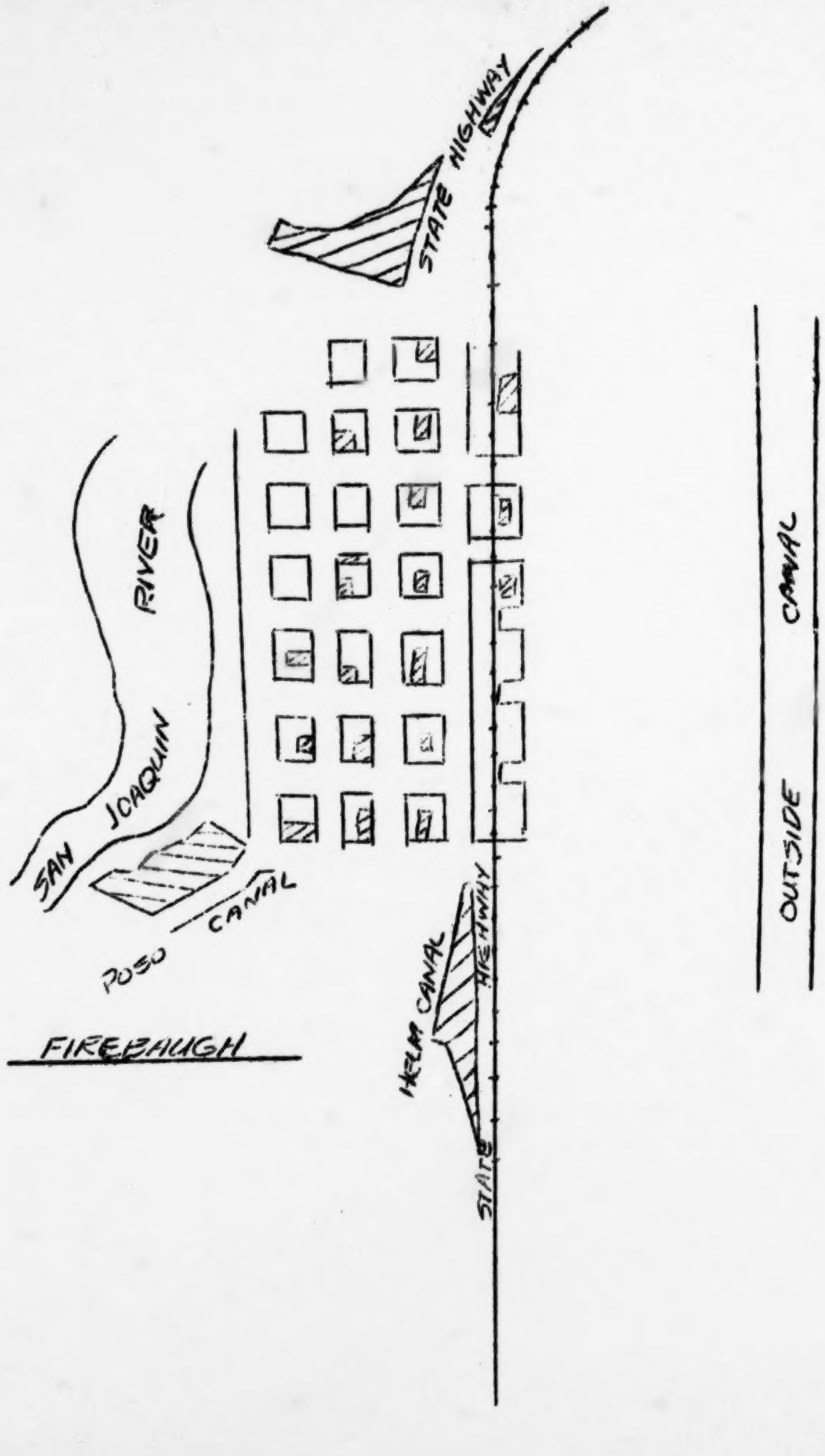
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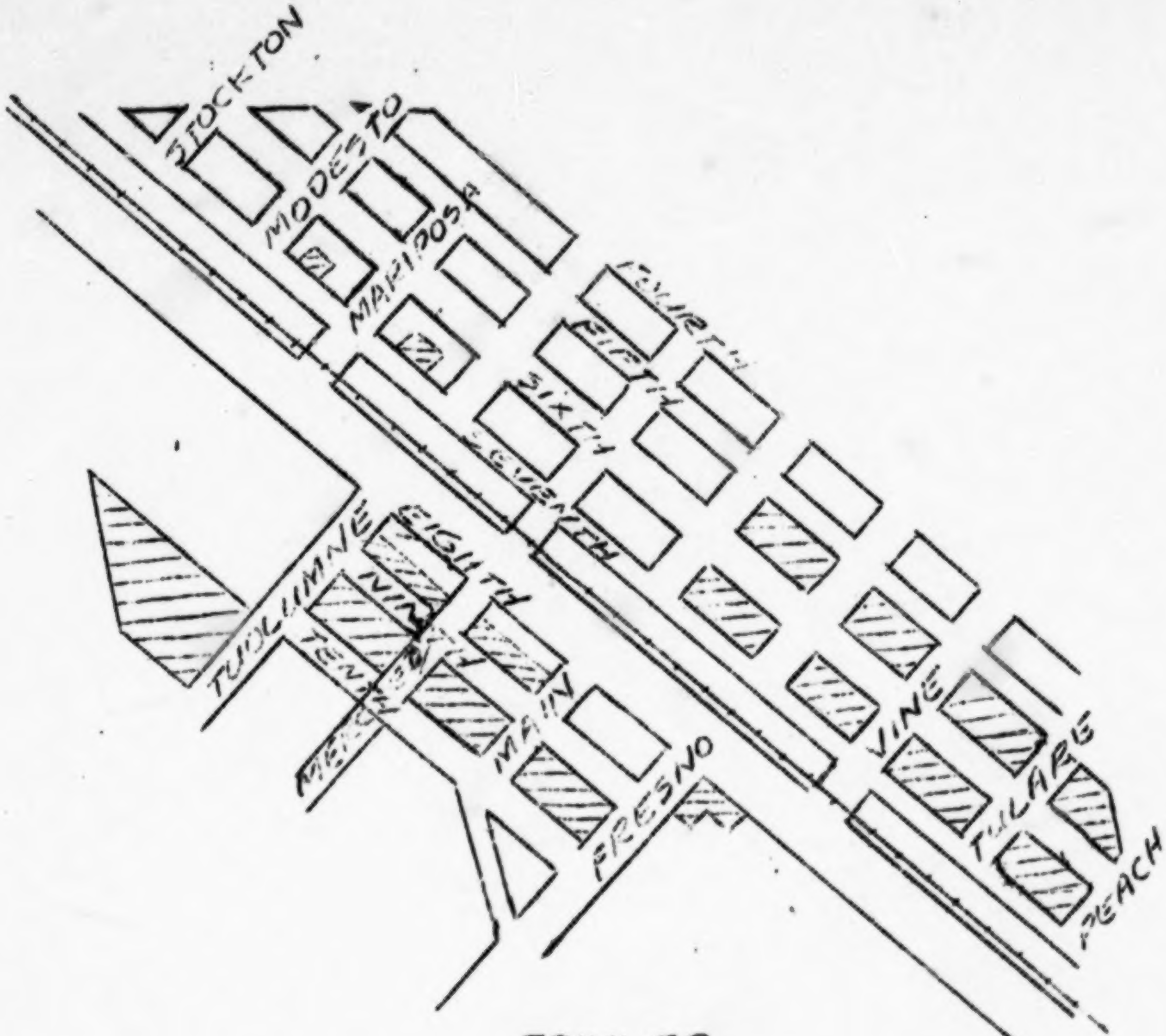
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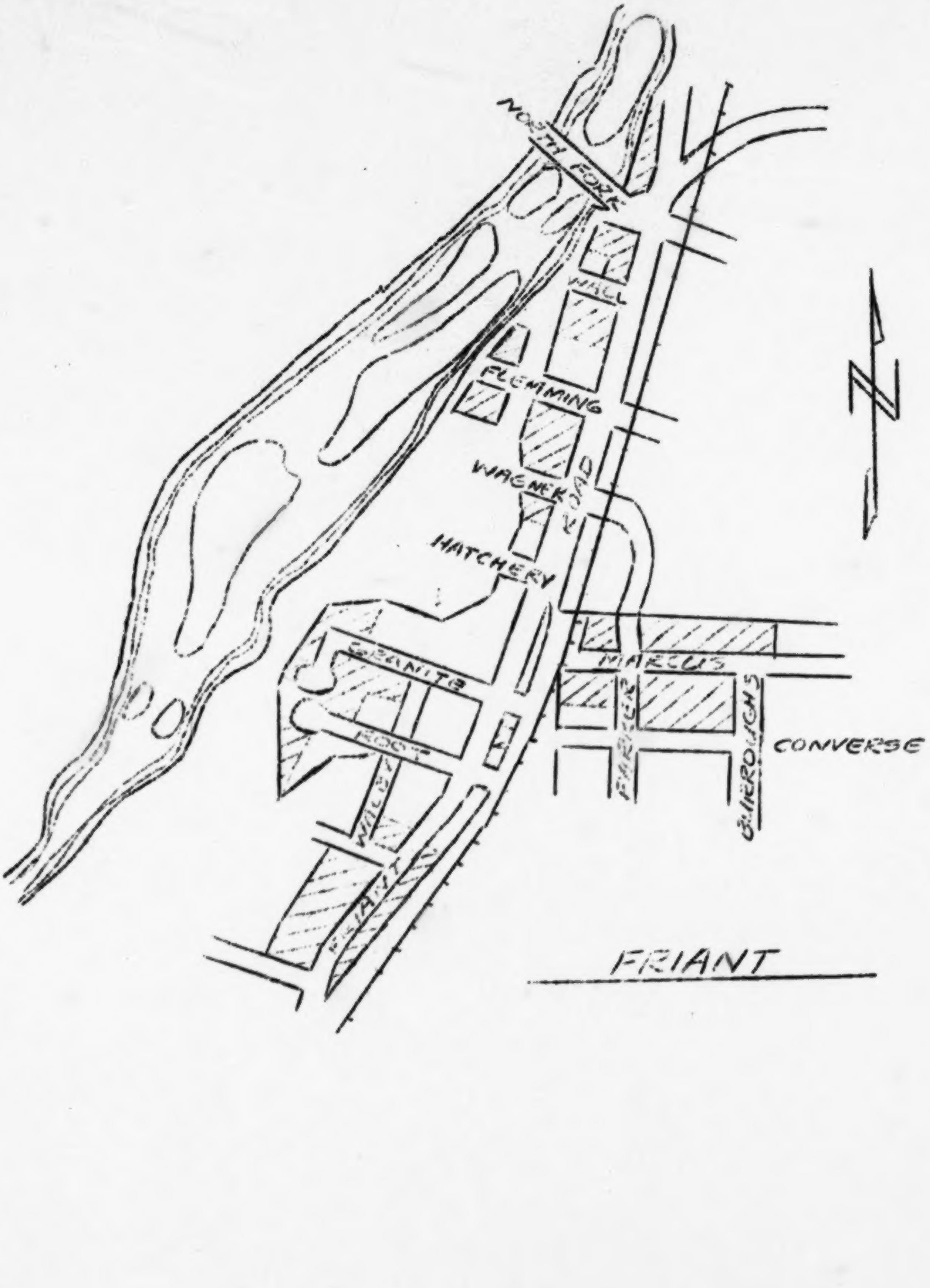
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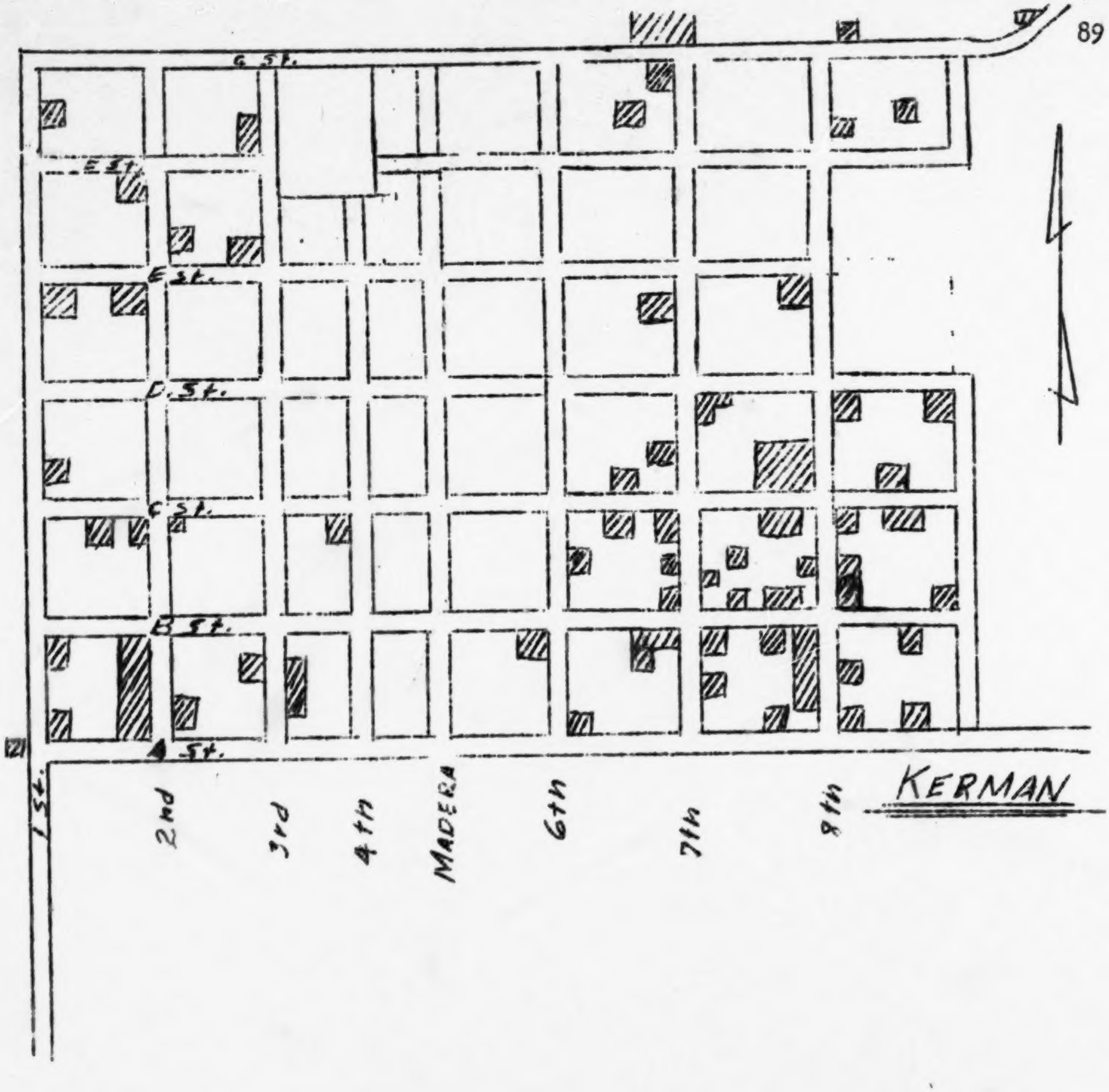
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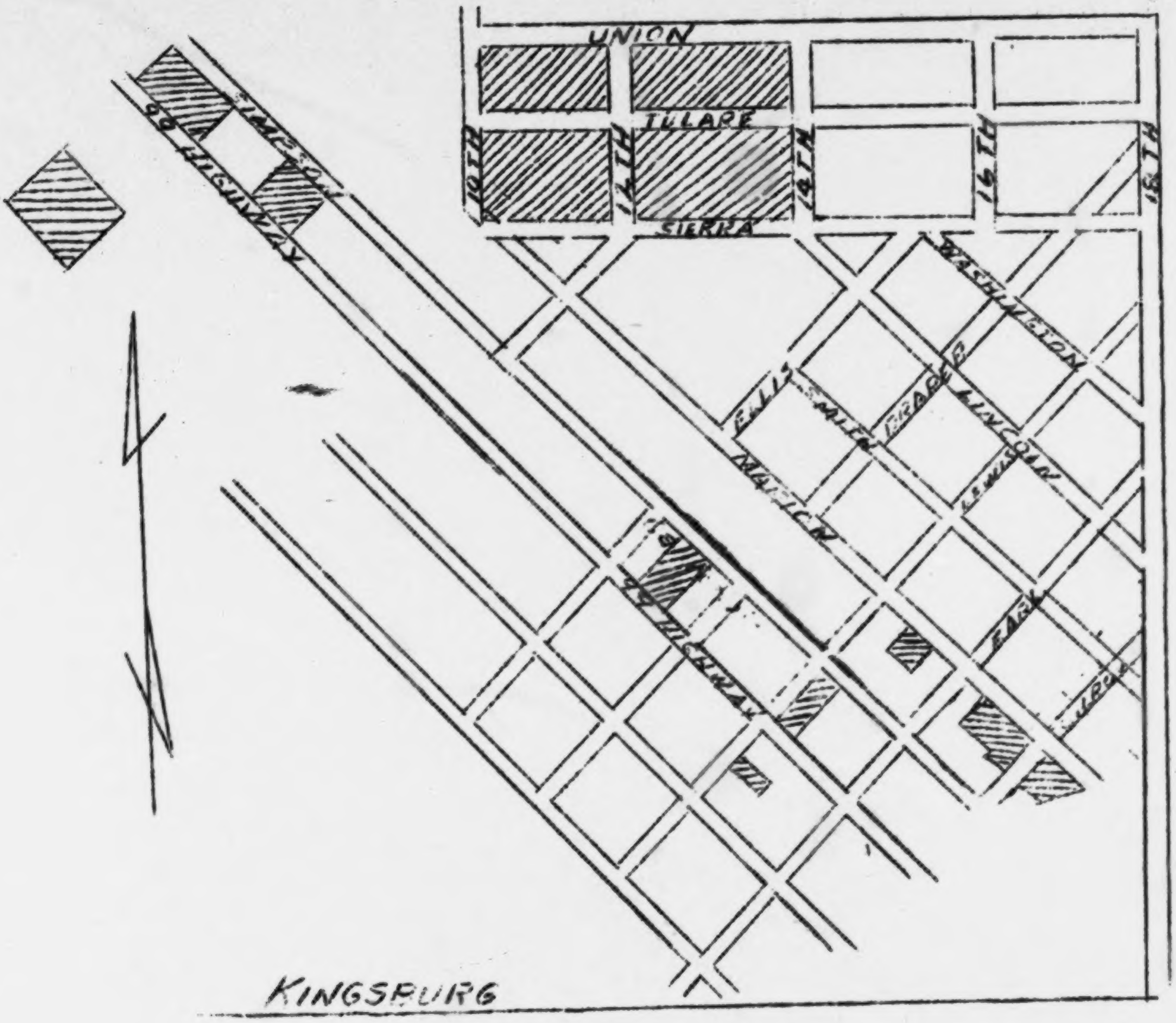
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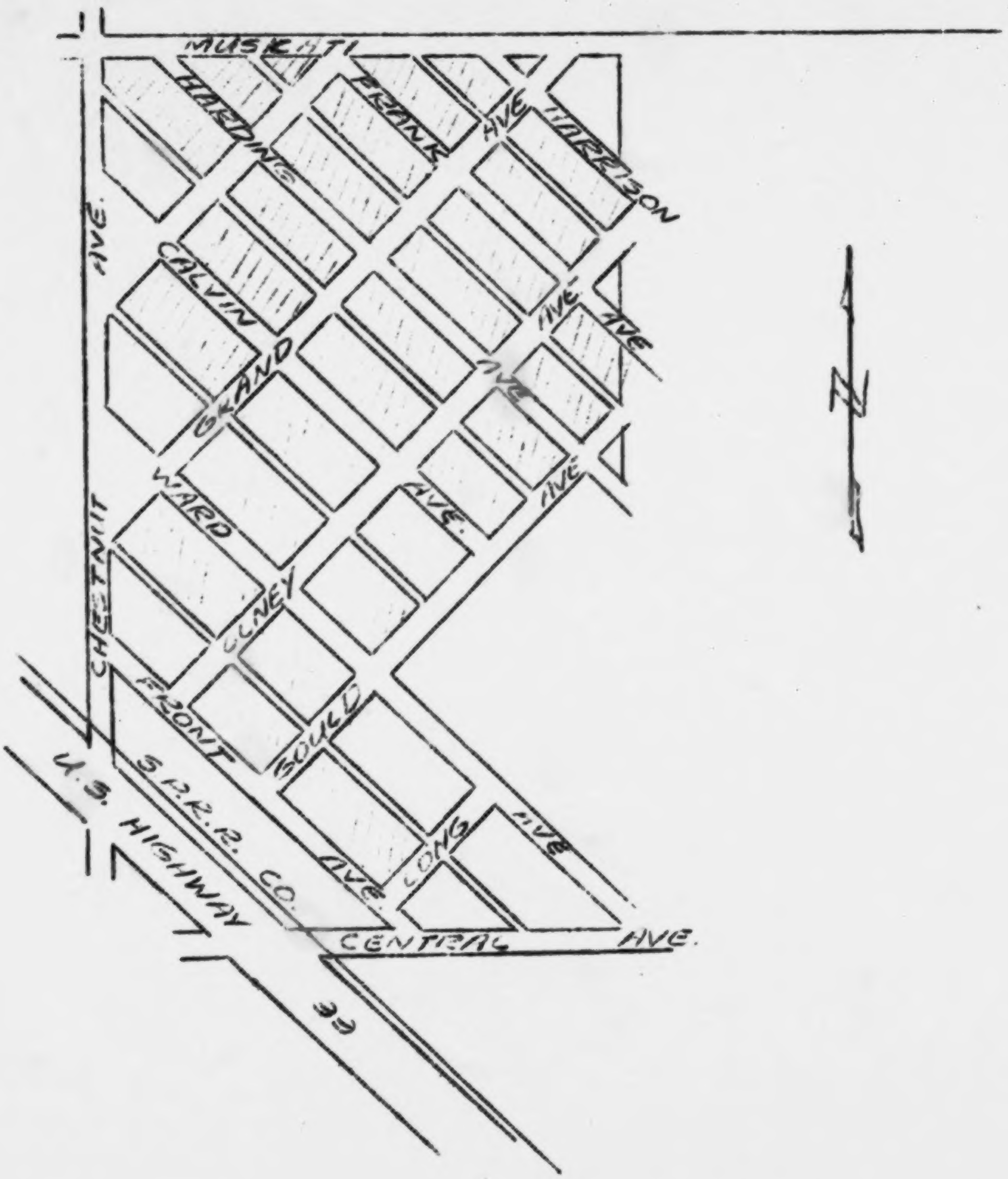
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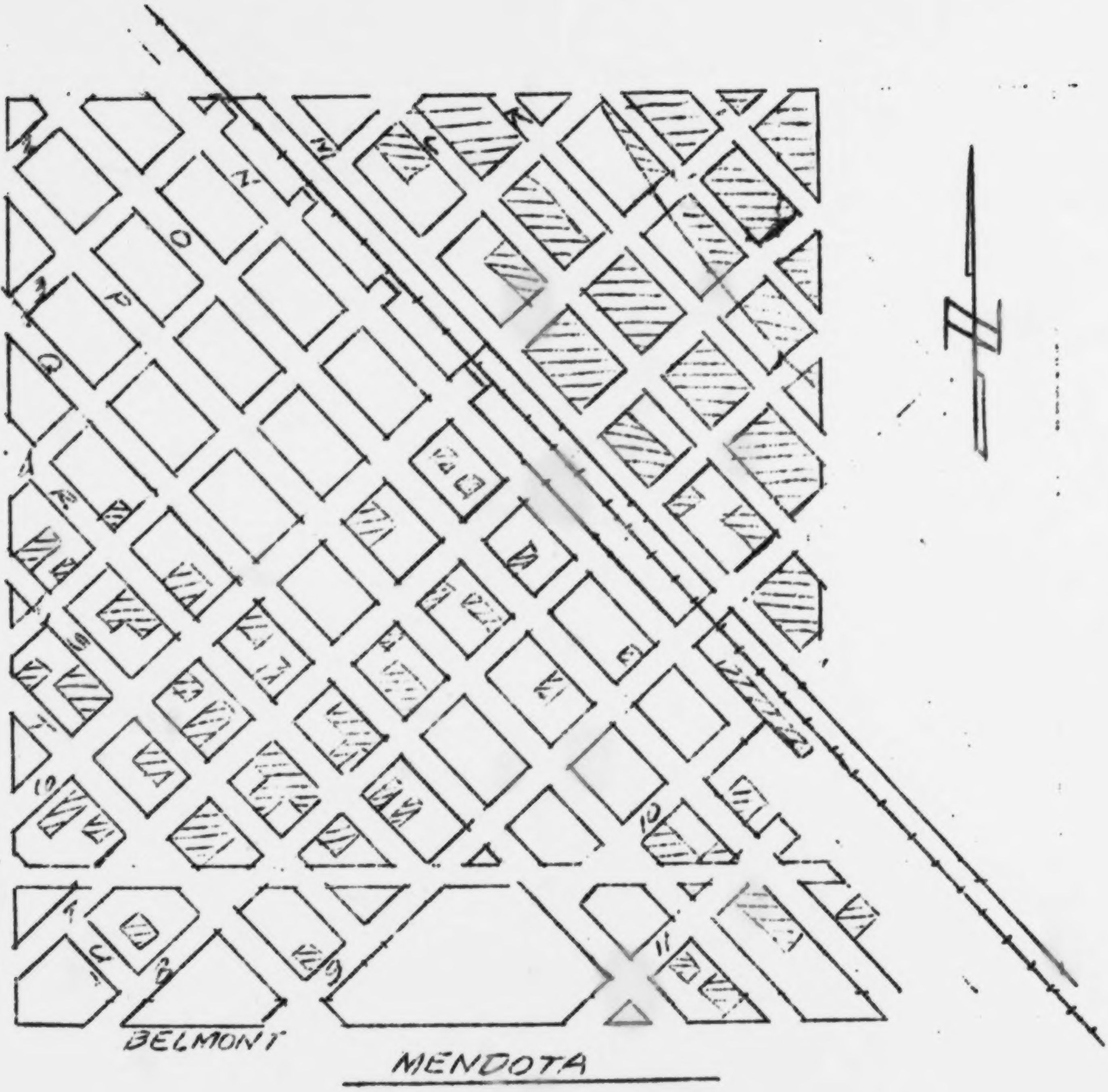
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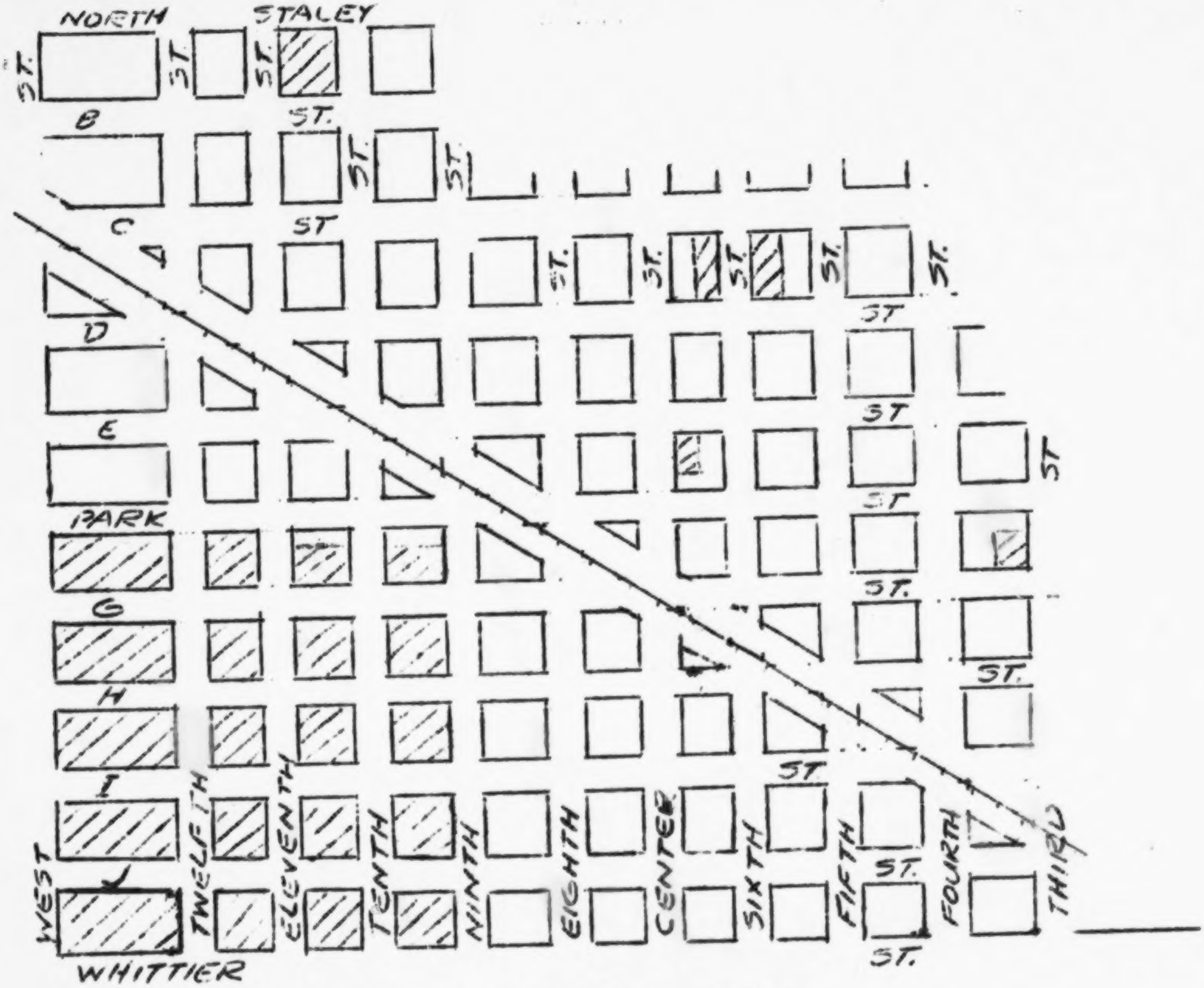
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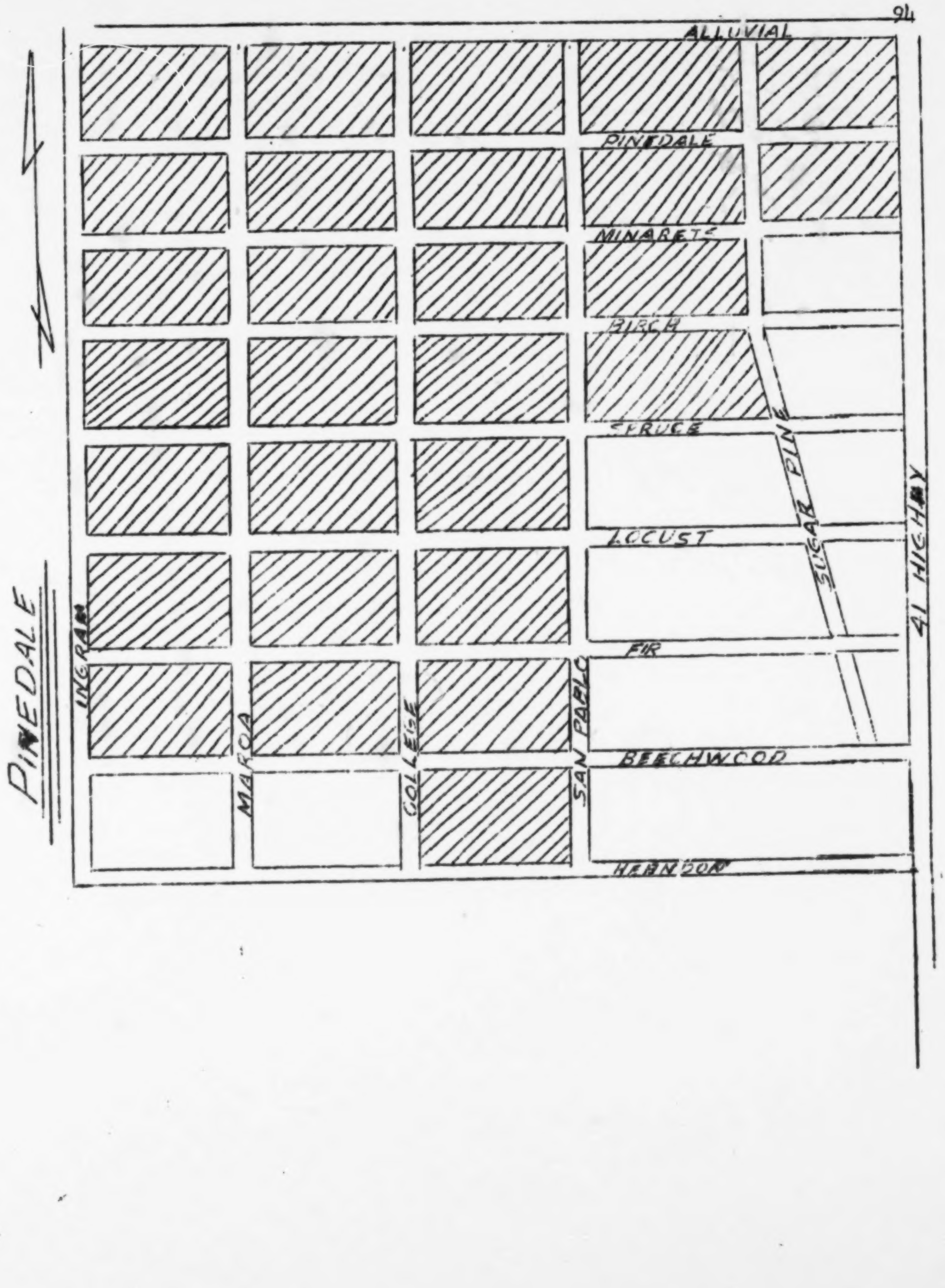
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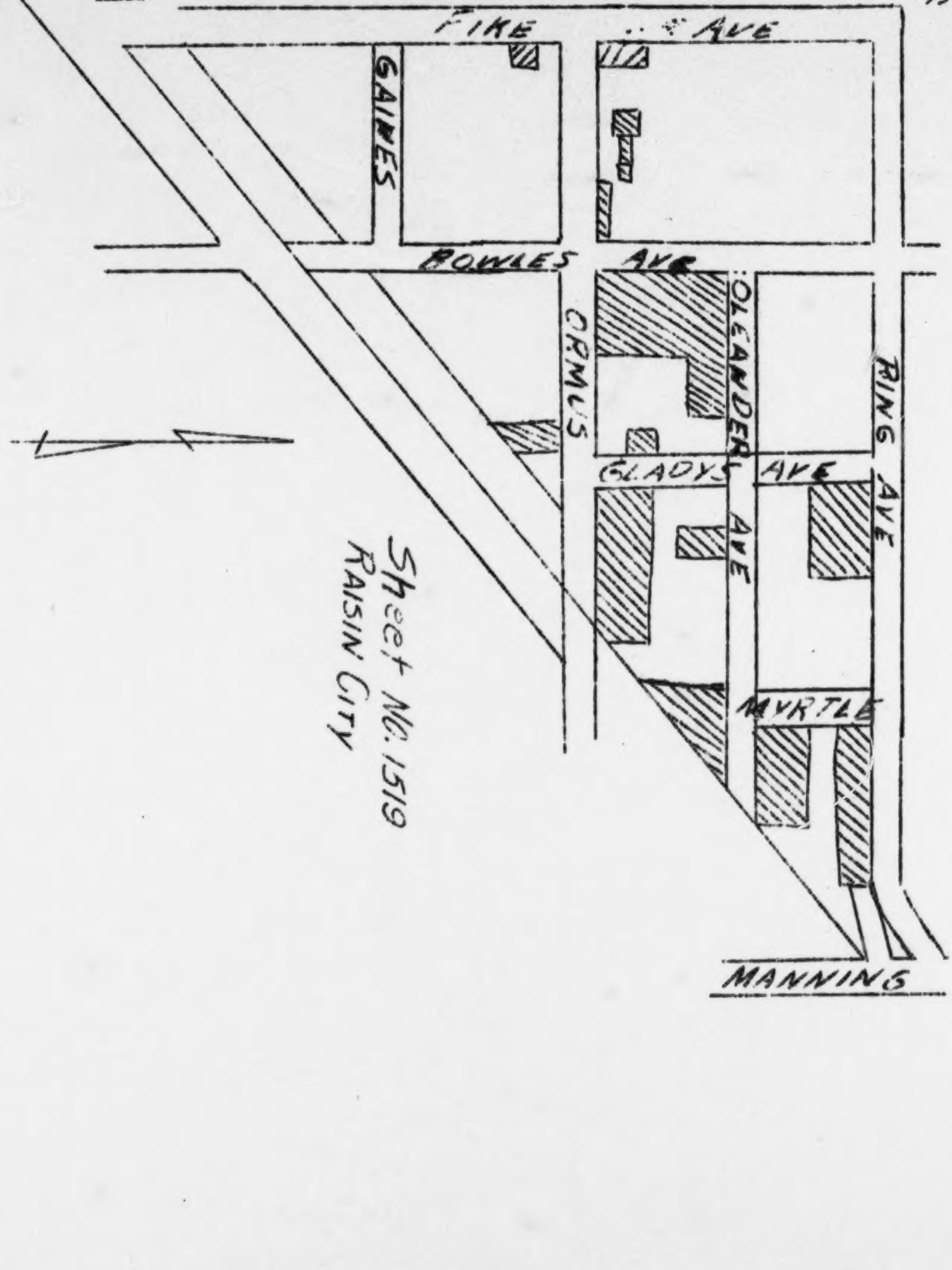
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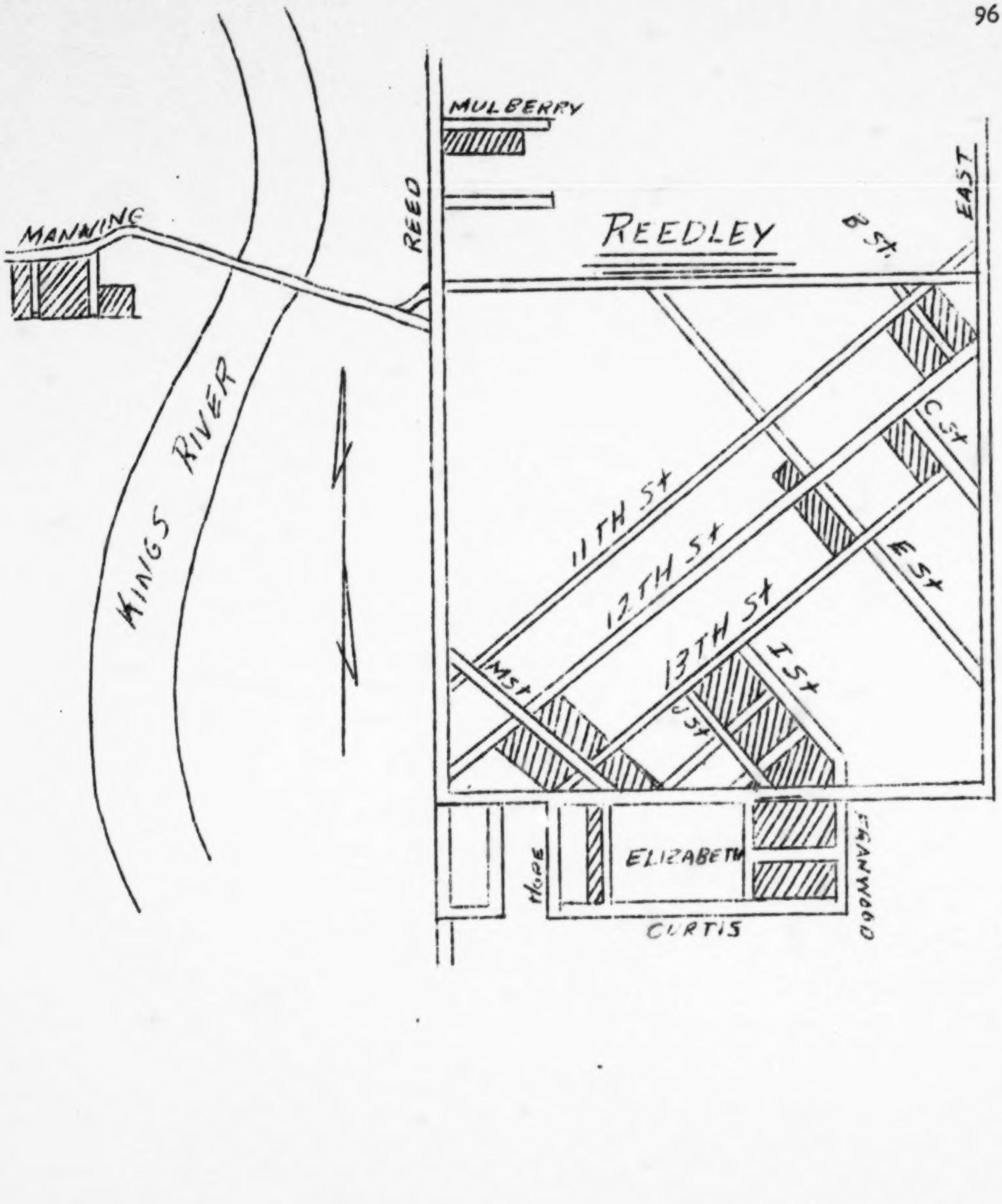
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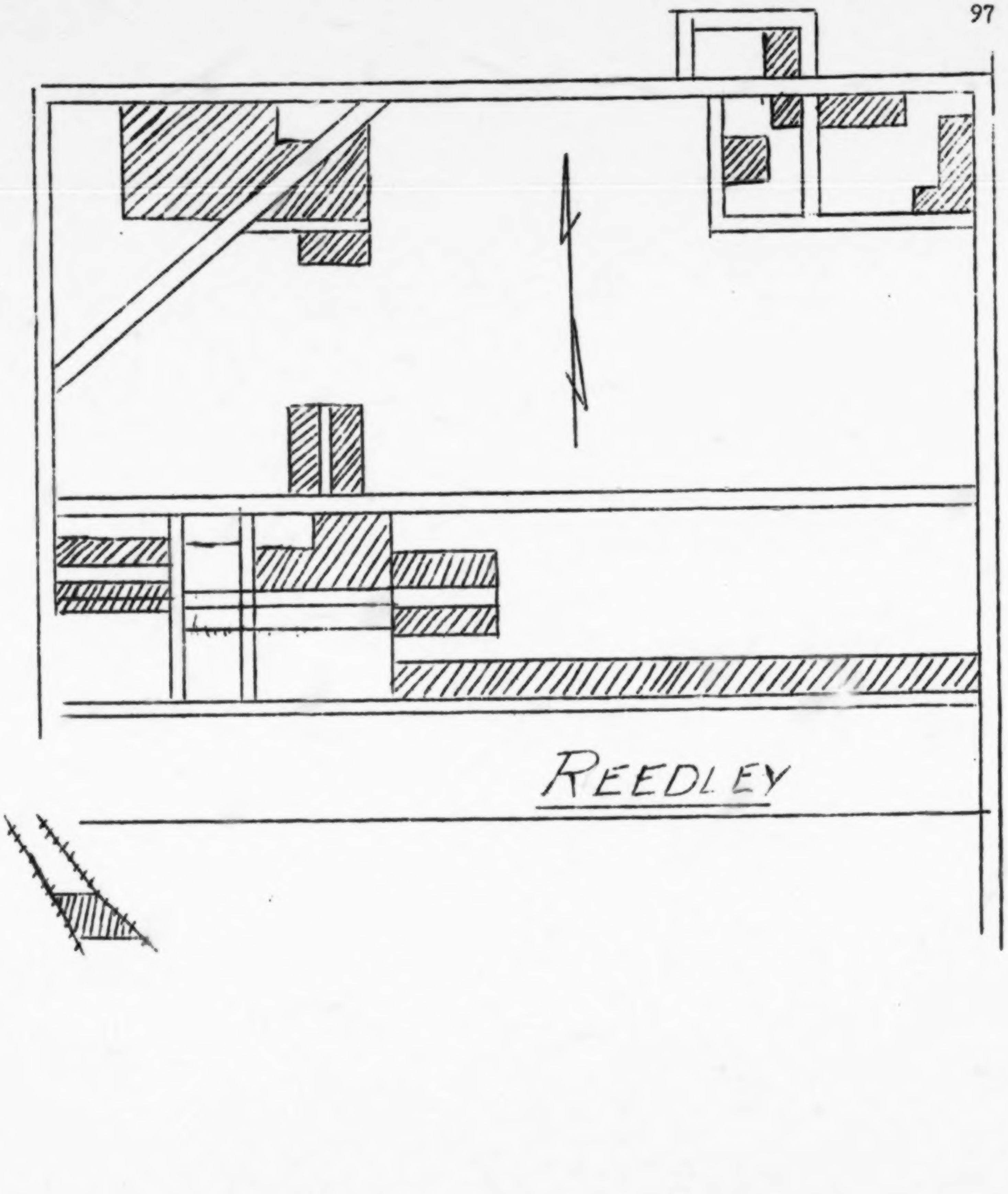
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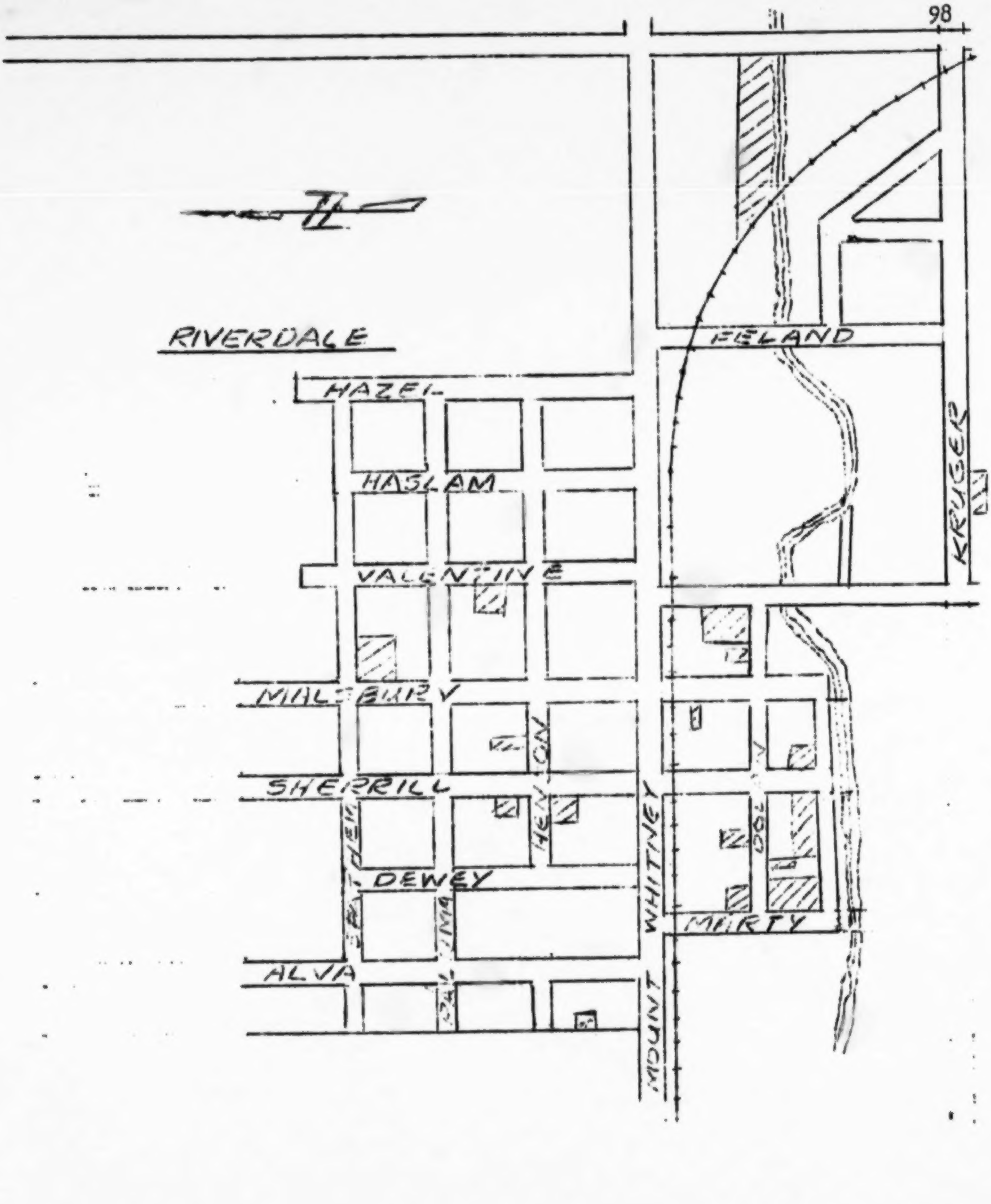
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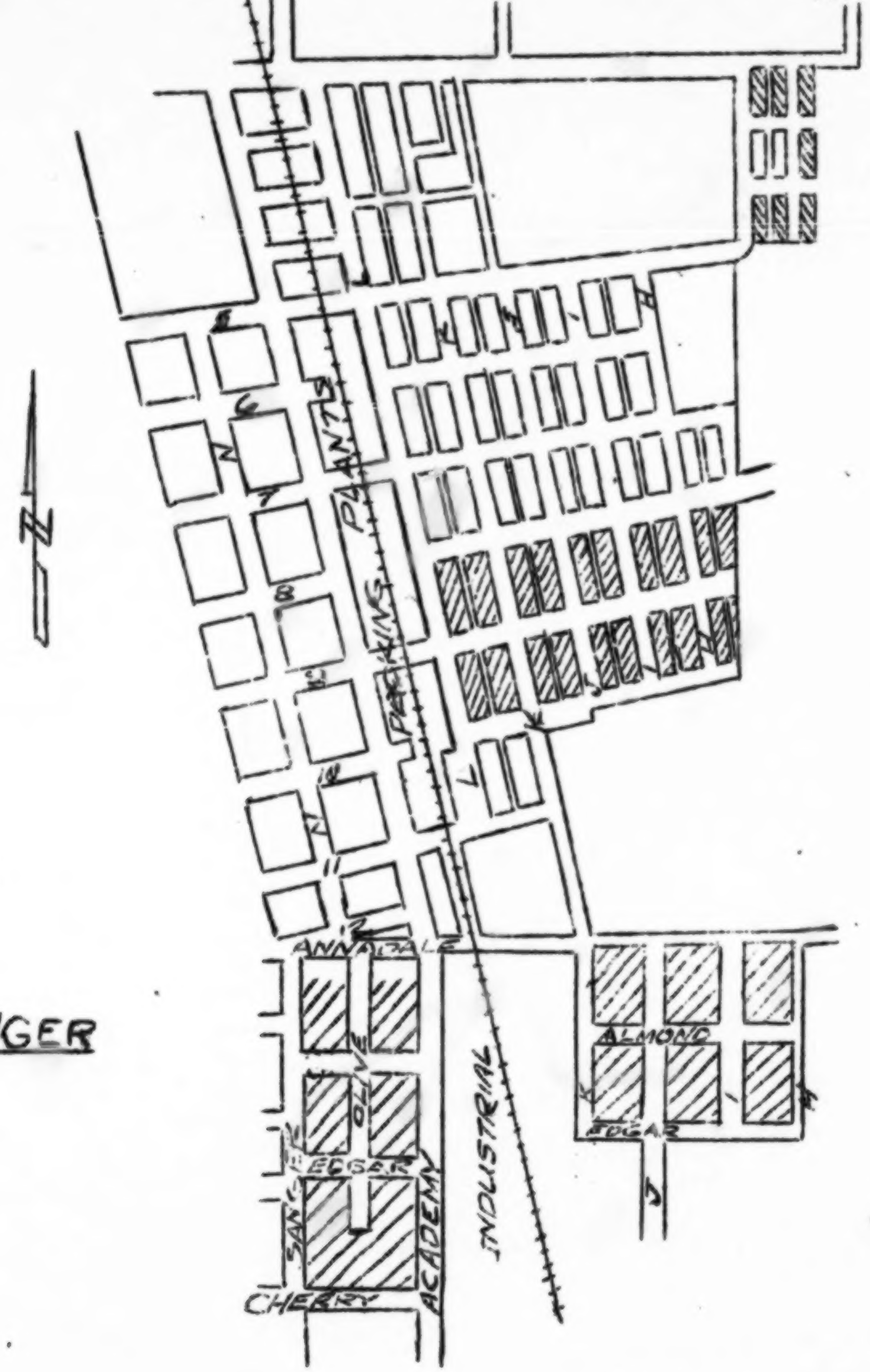
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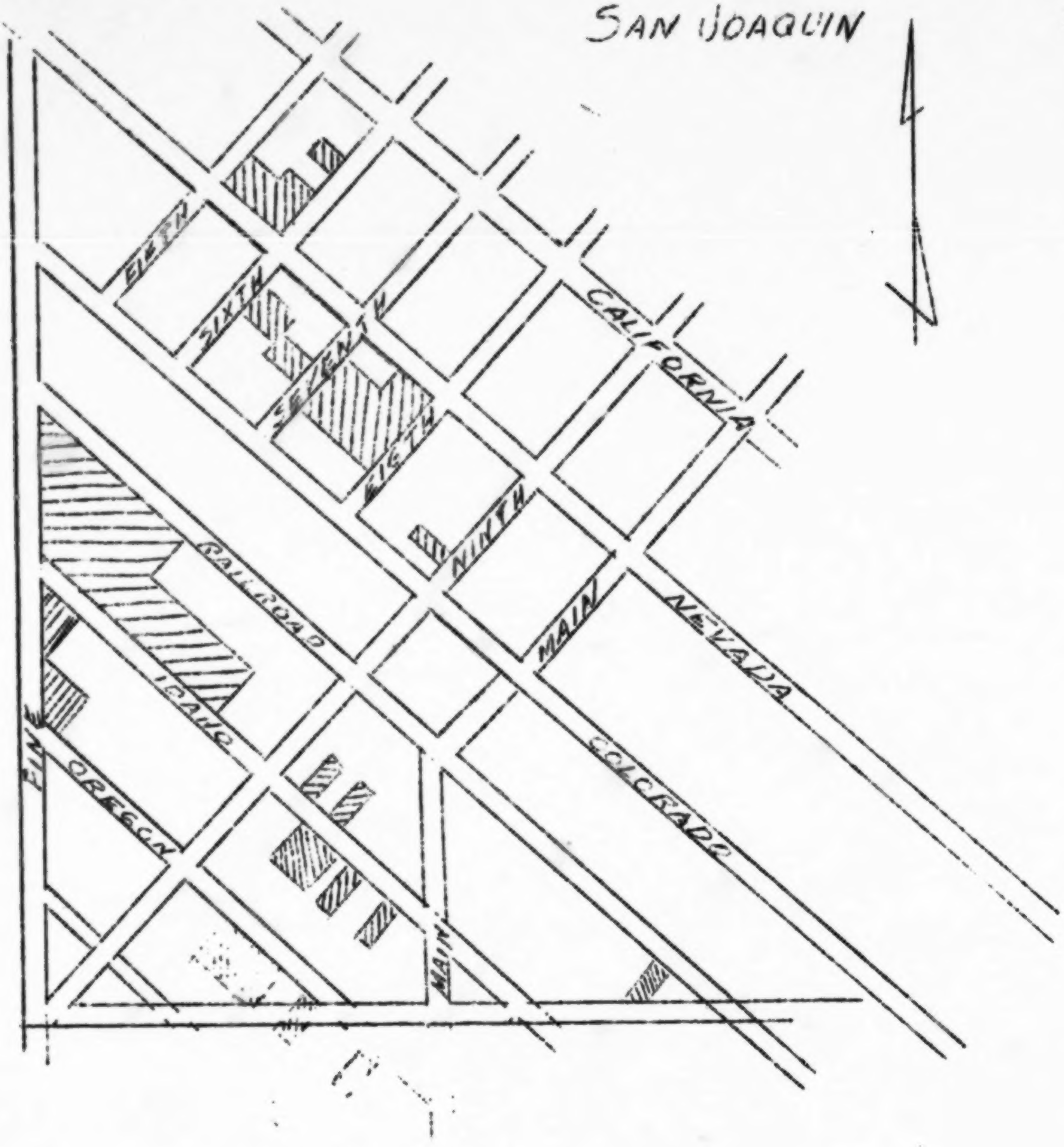
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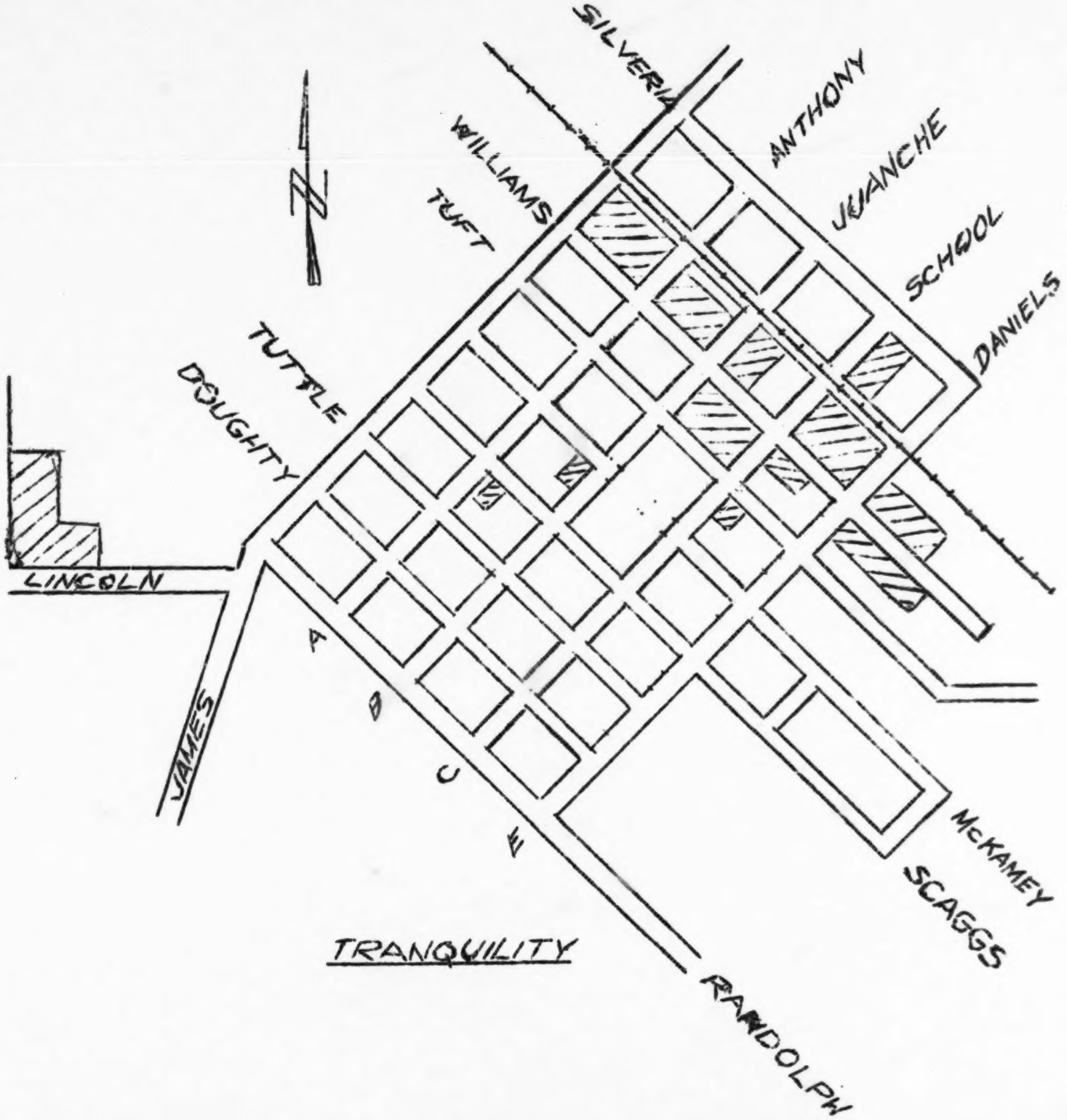
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SCAGGS
RANDOLPH

TRANQUILITY

Results of General Relief Survey

The following tables were assembled using information compiled from General Relief Application cards filed with the Fresno County Welfare Office during the period between December 23, 1958 and March 26, 1959. There was a total of 1,511 cards used for this survey and the breakdown by ethnic group was:

(1) Mexican-American - 600
(2) Negro - 432
(3) Anglo - 479

The impression created by the above figures--that there were far more Mexican-American applicants than there were applicants from the other two groups--is a false one, and results from the fact that the ethnic group to which an individual belonged was not indicated on many of the application cards. It was possible for the workers to select Mex-American cards from among the unmarked ones by looking for Mexican names, but this technique could not, of course, be employed to distinguish Anglo from Negro applicants. The true proportion of applicants would probably more nearly approach a one-third ethnic split if all the cards could have been used.

In determining the usefulness of the following tables, we feel obligated to remind the reader that this information was of a voluntary nature, and that the accuracy has not been verified. Also there exist in the tables discrepancies in total numbers because the item of information tabulated was not always recorded in every record reviewed.

Place of Residence

	Rural	Urban	% Rural
MA	209	338	38.2
Negro	111	313	25.9
Anglo	224	230	49.3

Applicants for Aid--Place of Origin

(Includes birthplace of both husbands and wives)

	Calif.	Okla.	Ark.	Texas	Mo.	Mex.	Ariz.	La.	other
MA	244	10	2	335	-	339	68	-	157
	21.1%	.9%	.2%	29.0%	-	29.4%	5.9%	-	13.6%
Negro	29	131	164	180	12	-	-	124	167
	3.6%	16.2%	20.3%	22.3%	1.5%	-	-	15.4%	20.7%
Anglo	89	294	154	123	46	-	-	-	240
	9.4%	31.1%	16.3%	13.0%	4.9%	-	-	-	27.5%

Age of Applicants for Aid

- MALE -

	20 & under	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	over 60
MA	5	132	191	131	90	38
Negro	3	58	123	123	73	27
Anglo	11	97	132	137	69	35

- FEMALE -

	20 & under	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	over 60
MA	20	162	214	100	38	12
Negro	14	79	154	100	40	6
Anglo	31	124	140	105	47	9

Ownership of Automobiles

	none	1950 or older	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956 or newer	% owning autos
MA	235	258	46	24	18	10	8	1	60.8%
Negro	298	91	16	11	1	-	2	-	28.9%
Anglo	187	216	28	19	14	6	9	-	70%

Number of Marriages

Mexican-American	- MALE -				- FEMALE -			
	none	1	2	3	none	1	2	3
Age 20 & under		10	-	-	-	20	-	-
Age 21-30	1	133	3	-	-	160	8	-
Age 31-40	-	177	7	-	-	193	17	-
Age 41-50	1	121	10	1	-	85	10	-
Age 51-60	-	81	4	-	-	36	4	-
Over 60	5	26	1	-	-	11	4	-

% Multiple Marriages - 6.1%

Negro	- MALE -				- FEMALE -			
	none	1	2	3	none	1	2	3
Age 20 & under	-	5	-	-	-	13	-	-
Age 21-30	2	58	2	-	-	72	6	-
Age 31-40	2	112	14	-	2	143	13	-
Age 41-50	1	110	9	1	-	83	7	-
Age 51-60	-	69	18	-	-	33	9	-
Over 60	-	16	6	-	-	6	2	-

% Multiple Marriages - 10.7%

Anglo	- MALE -				- FEMALE -			
	none	1	2	3	none	1	2	3
Age 20 & under	-	13	-	-	-	32	1	-
Age 21-30	2	95	7	-	-	109	11	-
Age 31-40	2	106	21	-	-	122	26	1
Age 41-50	2	97	22	-	-	76	17	-
Age 51-60	1	70	10	1	-	35	10	1
Over 60	3	17	5	1	-	4	3	-

% Multiple Marriages - 16.4%

General Relief Survey - 4

Time in Fresno County

	less than 1 year	1-2 years	3-5 years	6-10 years	10 years or more
MA	71 12.3%	63 10.9%	123 21.2%	109 18.8%	213 37.8%
Negro	23 5.6%	46 11.1%	90 21.5%	119 28.9%	136 32.9%
Anglo	75 16.2%	62 13.2%	67 14.5%	75 16.2%	183 39.9%
Total %	11.6%	11.8%	19.2%	20.8%	36.6%

Difference in Age of Marriage Partners

	male older	female older	same age	% female older
MA	419	97	60	16.8%
Negro	301	58	42	14.2%
Anglo	364	67	17	15.0%

Number of Dependents

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or more
MA	10	40	49	66	63	84	84	76	63	74
Negro	10	50	81	105	78	42	14	22	9	21
Anglo	13	57	63	103	73	67	43	25	16	20

Number of Times Aid Received

Mexican-American N = 590

No. of times applied for assistance:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Age 20 & under	4	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age 21-30	68	31	14	13	6	2	4	-	1	-	-	-	-
Age 31-40	74	31	27	22	17	10	4	3	6	3	1	-	-
Age 41-50	35	36	14	12	9	6	10	2	3	-	1	-	-
Age 51-60	42	15	10	6	-	4	2	3	2	-	-	-	-
over 60	10	7	4	5	1	2	3	-	-	1	-	-	-
Totals:	233	121	71	58	33	24	24	8	12	4	2	-	-
Percent:	39.5	20.5	12.0	9.8	5.6	4.0	4.0	1.4	2.0	.7	.4	-	-

Negro N = 428

No. of times applied for assistance:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Age 20 & under	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age 21-30	14	9	9	11	5	3	3	3	3	-	1	1	-
Age 31-40	32	20	19	13	9	12	10	6	6	3	-	-	1
Age 41-50	23	15	18	11	17	10	9	8	7	2	1	1	1
Age 51-60	9	18	5	12	10	11	6	4	7	-	1	1	-
over 60	-	1	4	2	5	1	3	2	-	-	-	-	-
Totals:	79	63	56	49	47	37	31	23	23	5	3	3	2
Percent:	18.4	14.7	13.1	11.4	11.0	8.6	7.2	5.4	5.1	1.2	.7	.7	.5

Anglo N = 468

No. of times applied for assistance:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Age 20 & under	5	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age 21-30	28	18	13	14	9	5	1	2	5	2	-	-	-
Age 31-40	40	36	18	9	7	6	7	5	6	1	2	-	-
Age 41-50	30	25	17	11	12	7	4	7	4	3	2	1	-
Age 51-60	19	13	6	6	7	3	4	5	5	3	1	-	-
over 60	14	5	3	3	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals:	136	100	58	44	38	25	16	19	20	9	5	1	-
Percent:	29.1	21.3	12.4	9.4	8.1	5.3	3.4	4.5	4.3	1.9	1.1	.2	-

EAST MENDOTA--RURAL SLUM by Rev. Jeanne Price

I - EXTENT OF PROBLEM

The Mendota area lies 35 miles north-west of Fresno, in Fresno County. It comprises the incorporated town of Mendota, with a population (according to the most recent census) of 1600 plus; and an unincorporated area--known as East Mendota, lying on the east side of the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks. The best statistics available place the population of East Mendota as 1250 plus.

In the incorporated town, a loosely bounded rural slum exists. We find crowded living conditions in sub-standard housing. Recently barracks buildings have been moved in, to accommodate transient labor, under the aegis of labor contractors, who operate licensed buses to and from the vast agricultural interests lying between Mendota and the foothills to the west. The bulk of this labor is Mexican. Mexican families live in the this part of Mendota in one and two-room cabins. Many of these are not transient, but are endeavoring to establish a permanent footing in the community. City water, natural gas, electricity and sewage are available in this area, although not each individual family has these advantages.

East Mendota is an irregularly shaped area covering approximately one-half square mile. The population is predominantly Negro; is of greater density; and presents a typical picture of a rural slum. The west and south boundaries are two semi-improved roads, leading nowhere. Other streets and cross streets are unimproved and virtually impassable during the rainy season.

II - BACKGROUND OF PROBLEM

East Mendota originated in 1946 when one man, Henry Smith, purchased the property from the Miller and Lux Estate and sub-divided it into lots 25' x 100'. This date coincides with the extension of land development and prosperous cotton raising to the west, where enormous holdings and operations are the rule, and absentee ownership is common. At that time much of the seasonal labor employed was Negro. The town of Mendota apparently has always used public pressure to keep the Negro out of its incorporated area. A Negro, seeking a place to live (other than a cotton camp), found it possible, in 1947, to purchase a lot in East Mendota for $75.00 In March, 1956, it is difficult to find a lot there for $250, and the asking price goes to $500.

In general, those persons living in East Mendota (which not only includes Negroes but Mexicans and Caucasians from the poorer sections of the Southeastern states) have a surprisingly low literacy level. A number of adults, in the 20 to 30 age range are unable to do more than sign their own names. There is a large number of single males among the Negroes. The average Negro, in a family situation, tends to have fewer children than the other racial groups. The Mexican is more apt to be found in a family situation, and fewer casual liaisons have been observed than among the Negroes and whites.

It may be significant that there is little music heard among these persons. One would expect to find a few Negro groups singing, or Mexicans playing musical instruments. The absence of interest is marked. The art teacher at the schools states that, in her many years of experience, she has not seen anywhere so little creative or artistic talent, nor so little interest evinced.

Vice of all types: prostitution, gambling, marijuana and excessive use of liquor, is extremely common. This area has been found to be well known in this regard in San Francisco and Los Angeles, to persons seeking these things. A recent raid in East Mendota by the Fresno County Vice Squad, netted not only resident white and Negro prostitutes, but also men and women from Fresno, San Francisco, and points nearer. It is said, on good authority, that the following day houses of prostitution were operating openly, and gambling flourished unabated.

III - EAST MENDOTA--RURAL SLUM

As has been previously stated, East Mendota is geographically adjacent to the incorporated area of Mendota and covers approximately one-half square mile, where 1250 persons live, the number varying with the peaks and lows of seasonal employment.

1. The housing in this area is almost entirely sub-standard. There are 5 homes which are well built and neatly kept, and probably represent a cost of $3,000.00 per unit. There is one so-called Motel of wood construction with plaster finish, which has recently been plastered and renovated. This has eight units, which are, for the most part, permanently occupied by persons receiving public assistance--such OAS, ANC, or blind aid. There are three small stores selling staples--such as bread, meal, coffee, tobacco, beer and wine. Their stocks are comparatively small. There are two "cafes." One sells food. Both are licensed to sell beer and wine. These are the only legitimate businesses in the area.

The remainder of the housing is of haphazard construction; in most cases, frame, corrugated iron, tar paper sheets, and even--in some cases--abandoned bus bodies. Those who have been able to build a two or three-room house on the front of their lot, have gone to great length to build additional units--much less desirable, on the rest of the lot, which they hope will augment their income. None of these houses has natural gas, although most have electricity. Mr. Henry Smith, the original developer, does furnish running water from a private well to some of the houses. It is said that the water is unpalatable and that the pressure is poor with little or no pressure at all during the hot summer months.

Some new housing is in process of construction. The three places observed appear to be of fair quality and size, and new lumber is being used for the frames. There are no concrete foundations. Either local "handy-man" labor is employed, or the owner and volunteer friends do the work.

2. It is not surprising, in view of the housing situation, that the general standard of health of low. The Fresno County Public Health Nurse in this area states that only a small percentage of Negro mothers bring their babies to the Well Baby Clinic, which is held at the school in Mendota. Marked malnutrition is not evident. The School Nurse states that upper-respiratory infections and other health problems appear to be more prevalent in East Mendota than within the incorporated town.

Without verifiable figures, it would seem difficult to state unequivocally that veneral diseases are more prevalent in this area; but, on the basis of many private conversations such would seem to be the case.

There is no Public Health Medical Clinic in either Mendota or East Mendota. Those who are ill avail themselves of the semi-monthly night Medical Clinic services at Firebaugh, eight miles away, or the Fresno County General Hospital--as transportation is available. The pattern is largely matriarchal. There is seldom a permanent male head of the families.

3. Where prostitution is carried on with open doors--exposed to the view of anyone who passes--including children; where living together in the married relationship is not a common way of life; it would possibly be too much to expect high moral or ethical standards. It has been observed that the Negro and lower-level Caucasians are more apt to err in this respect than is the Mexican practicing Roman Catholic. With the single male Negro representing a high proportion of the population than is usual in most places, it is not uncommon for one female to share the attentions of two or more males. The outlook of the children, as shown by their casual conversation, would appear to have taken on the aspect of their background.

4. As has been stated, the majority of the adults and young adults, are semi-literate. Compulsory school attendance laws in California are of assistance in keeping the children of East Mendota in school. They attend the Mendota Union Schools within the incorporated area. The attendance officer of these schools estimates that absenteeism among the children of East Mendota is 50% greater than from Mendota. Some of the reasons given for this are: no food at home, no shoes, drinking in the home, no encouragement at home--leading to lack of interest in school, and necessity for additional earnings by the children. It has been observed that the children of this area, while at school, tend to clique--in spite of nonsegregation. No effort has been made on the part of any agency--public or private, to further adult education.

5. Two fire trucks from the town of Mendota answer the frequent fire alarms in East Mendota. Lacking water connections, there is little they can do. The

cabins and buildings (built of scrap lumber--in most cases) burn rapidly. The crowded unkept conditions of lots and alley-ways present an additional fire hazard. No efforts toward fire prevention have been made in this area. The fact that a great many cabins use kerosene stoves for heating and cooking, is an additional danger. Some lives have been lost in these fires.

6. In East Mendota the Pacific Gas and Electric Company furnishes electricity. Not all places are so equipped; and use kerosene lamps and lanterns for light. The few who are able to afford the cost, use butane for cooking and heating. The remainder use kerosene stoves. Wood stoves are not practical in this area because of the lack of fuel.

Sanitary facilities are totally lacking. There is no sewer line in this area; a few of the more privileged have bathrooms and cesspools. The crazily leaning patched-up outside toilet is a prominent feature of East Mendota. It is possible that many families use the same toilet; and unfortunately true that there are many who--lacking even the outside toilet--use the open ground. In many places water is carried from some distance.

7. A small number of Mexican families in this area are practicing Roman Catholics, who attend the Roman Catholic Church in Mendota. They are in the minority. A generous estimate of the number of practicing Christians in East Mendota, would be 150. These probably would describe themselves as either Pentecostal or Southern Baptist. Little evangelistic effort has been observed among these persons.

8. Most persons who live in East Mendota are engaged in seasonal employment of one type or another. When employed, the bulk of their shopping for staple goods is done at a cash market in the incorporated town. Since, in East Mendota, there is no hard liquor licensed, anything stronger than beer or wine is, perforce also purchased in Mendota. The Mexican from the East side of the tracks is apt to seek companionship and recreation among the members of his race who congregate in the "cafes" and bars of the Mexican section of the incorporated town. Lacking legitimate recreational facilities, the Negro of the East Mendota area tends to clump

together with his fellowmen of the area, either in a small "dive" or "juke joint"; or, in pleasant weather, on the street corners near the houses of prostitution, which are close together. Since the average Negro and the under-privileged Caucasian are, at best, only semi-literate, reading has little appeal, although pornographic material, in the form of comic books--is avidly perused. Crap games are a common sight on the vacant lots, where as many as 20 men have been observed at one time thus occupied. Personal observations would lead one to believe that the Negro, as well as the Mexican, more than occasionally uses marijuana or other narcotics not readily identified. It would seem that this incidence of narcotic usage is higher among the Negro male population. Excessive drinking among both men and women appears to be the rule rather than the exception. Where employment is scarce and money limited, it has been observed that children go hungry (except where a free school lunch is furnished) while the parents spend what little they have on cheap wines.

Dr. Harold Black, practicing D.O. in Mendota, states that abortion appears to be less common in East Mendota than other areas where he has patients. Also that when a miscarriage does occur, the woman concerned appears to take the loss much harder than might be expected.

The maintenance of law and order presents a special problem. The small police force (four men in toto) of the incorporated town has no authority on the East Mendota side of the tracks. As need arises, an officer from the Sheriff's Department in Fresno is called; occasionally a constable from the town of Firebaugh officiates. This means that, of necessity, there occurs a lapse of time--ranging from 30 minutes to an hour or two--from the time of need to the arrival of an officer.

Some effort has been made to draw the children of this area into recreational activities within the incorporated area--although these are certainly limited. Since--outside of the schools--there is little intercourse between the two areas, these efforts have failed. The children of East Mendota have been thrown upon their own resources--which are poor; and one would feel that, without some concerted effort to better their outlook and raise their standards, they will inevitably follow the pattern of the previous generation.

RESOURCES AT WORK IN EAST MENDOTA

There are no public agencies at work, full time, in this area. The Public Health Department has a Well Baby Clinic once a month, in the incorporated area of Mendota, which the people of East Mendota are urged to attend. A number of the people take advantage of the County Hospital for maternity cases, etc., but transportation is a real problem.

The Fresno County Welfare Agency has a worker in the East Mendota area. Most of the cases are in the Aid to Needy Children category; some are regular welfare cases and some aid to the blind.

No private agencies whatever are active in this area. The incorporated town of Mendota has a welfare committee which gives a limited amount to the aid in emergency cases.

There are two Negro churches in East Mendota; one the Southern Baptist, the other the Church of God in Christ (Pentecostal). Both have small buildings and have not had full-time pastors living in this area. Each has an average attendance of about 25.

In the incorporated town of Mendota there are both Boy Scout and Girl Scout troups. No children from East Mendota participate in these activities. Some of the smaller girls from this area belong to the Brownie Troups, which meet at the school during school hours. Outside of school hours it is extremely difficult to get the children of East Mendota to come across the tracks for any type of activity.

In the incorporated town the denominations represented are: Episcopal, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Pentecostal, Southern Baptist and Mexican Pentecostal. All are small and struggling and have a continuing problem finding financial support. The only two churches which might be prevailed upon to work actively in East Mendota would be the Episcopal and Methodist churches. However, it would require more staff and financial backing than is available to either at the present.

SOME RESULTS OF THE SLUM CONDITIONS IN EAST MENDOTA

No definite statistics on the crime rate in East Mendota are available to those preparing this paper. In a three-year period it has been observed that the violence which reaches the press under the name "Mendota," has generally originated in East Mendota. In some instances three or four persons detained in the jail in the incorporated town, have been residents of East Mendota, although the offenses were committed within the incorporated town.

The Mendota Union Schools administration states that more than half of their juvenile problems originate in East Mendota. These juvenile offenders are not all necessarily of the ages which are usually in elementary schools; many of the eighth-grade children are 15 and 16 years old. Unwed motherhood is frequent and is not particularly frowned upon.

The standards of cleanliness and neatness are low. Few of these people feel the desirability of cleanliness--either of body, mind, or surroundings. Cases of pediculosis are frequently observed among both adults and children.

The cotton harvest in this vast agricultural empire lasts approximately three months, with some clean-up work in the fields for six weeks longer. Where an entire family works, the income is substantial. Mr. "P" states that he, his wife and one teenage daughter are able to make about $20.00 day, picking cotton. The clean-up work and pulling bolls seldom brings in more than $1.00 per day per person. It is cold, wet work, ruinous to shoes and clothing. It is to be emphasized that peak wages can be made for seven or eight weeks at most, in "first picking" cotton. Chopping cotton and thinning beets in the spring pays 70 cents per hour, with irregular hours, and rainy and windy days--when work is impossible.

Most families at the beginning of the peak wage season are in arrears financially. They have debts, the entire family is in need of shoes and clothing.

If they have an old car, it needs tires and repairs; if they have not, they desire to buy an old car to provide them greater mobility. Systematic saving is unheard of in their lexicon; thrifty buying they do not understand. A Mexican or a Negro will purchase an avocado at thirty cents and lack the additional change for a loaf of bread. Their money is spent as fast as it is received.

Consequently, when employment ceases, there is considerable suffering and deprivation in this area. Of 378 requests for assistance by needy persons in January and February of 1956, the following figures appear:

	East Mendota	Mendota	Country (including labor camps)
Couples (No children)	33	5	15
Couples (With children)	74	15	57
Single persons	100	31	45
Number of children represented	195	30	201

Since a portion of this area is transient and, from time to time, these transients return, it is possible to note their progress or lack thereof, on the socio-economic scale. No one has been observed who has bettered himself, although such would probably not return here. Some have fallen somewhat lower. The majority appear unchanged and, with increasing age, appear more willing to remain in this place.

SEPTEMBER - 1956

Since the preparation of the foregoing material in March, 1956, some children's work has been done in East Mendota.

After considerable preparatory work by a representative of the Episcopal Church in Mendota, a 4H Club was formed for junior girls. There are at present ten girls under the direction of Mrs. Shaw of the California Extension Service, who utilizes volunteer assistance from the community whenever available. No leadership for a boys' club has been developed to date. The situation presents some difficulties, as most of the men and women work in the fields whenever possible.

In July, the Episcopal Church conducted a Vacation Bible School in East Mendota. No housing exists for such a project so a tent was used. The largest attendance was 34, the smallest 26; all children attending were 6th grade or under.

For the past two winters the Mendota Emergency Council program has been administered under the joint direction of the Episcopal Mission and the Division of Home Missions. The Episcopal Church has been more active in this fringe area, with the D.H.M. giving more attention to the labor camps. Much insight has been gained into the individual and family problem and some confidence established among a group which has been notoriously suspicious and mistrustful.

The representative of the Episcopal Church in Mendota states that there are at present ten persons in East Mendota who appear to have leadership ability and community interest, and are alert to the problems and difficulties of the area. At present they seem discouraged because of lack of interest, funds, and understanding on the part of established organizations outside of the community. It is probably safe to assume that they would co-operate with an effort toward community betterment.

Persons Reporting at Mendota Conference, March 23, 1959

Dr. Ralph Beals, Professor of Anthropology, UCLA

Dr. William C. Beatty, Jr., Staff

Mr. Thomas M. Brigham, Staff

Mr. Reed K. Clegg, Director, Fresno County Welfare Department

Mr. Edward Dutton, Assistant Executive Director, Fresno Community Council

Mrs. Mildred Edwards, Nurse, Westside School

Mrs. Mary Fielding, County Hospital Nursing Supervisor

Mrs. Dorothy Gregg, Board of Education, Mendota Schools

Sgt. Everett Haley, Sheriff's Office

Dr. Mary Hayes, Assistant County Health Officer

Rev. Cecil Hoffman, Jr., Methodist Migrant Ministry Worker

Miss Luann Johnston, Girl Scouts

Mrs. Harriet Jowett, Fresno County Schools Office

Rev. Albert Kantor, Missionary Gospel Fellowship

Mr. Maurice Laravee, Housing Authority

Mr. Bard McAllister, Field Representative with farm laborers for American Friends Service Committee

Miss Blanche Mesple, Assistant Director, County Welfare Department

Mrs. Ruth Noren, Mendota Schools

Miss Patricia Pickford, Staff

Rev. Jeanne Price, Minister, Mendota All Saints Episcopal Church and representative of County Welfare Department

Mr. Donald Quinn, Adult Authority

Mr. Sterling Rank, County Probation Officer

Mr. Joseph Reich, Chief Sanitarian, Fresno County Public Health Department

Mr. Mervyn Shippey, School Child Welfare and Attendance Officer

Dr. Bernard Siegel, Professor of Anthropology, Stanford University

Mrs. Norman Strauss, Girl Scouts

Mrs. I. H. Teilman, Vice Chairman, Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee

Mr. Robert Turner, Adult Authority

Miss Annie Clo Watson, Retired Executive Director, International Institute, San Francisco

Mrs. Hubert Wyckoff, Chairman, Subcommittee on Children of Seasonal Farm Workers, Governor's Advisoty Committee on Children and Youth

Mrs. Edna Erickson, Sanger Health Commission

FRESNO COUNTY SHERIFF'S OFFICE

County law enforcement in Fresno County is vested in fifteen different county organizations--fourteen judicial districts and a county sheriff's office In addition to the county agencies, there are also fourteen incorporated areas (other than the city of Fresno) which have their own city police departments. The jurisdictions of the various city police departments are, of course, limited to the boundary lines of any given incorporated area. The Sheriff's Office has jurisdiction over all the county, including the cities, although they are usually called into a city where there is a police department only as the result of a major crime, in which case they supply technical aid. Each judicial district has a constable, and perhaps a deputy or two, whose function is primarily one of serving civil process and as court bailiff. Constables in Fresno County usually use and own their personal equipment and are paid "criminal mileage." This is to say that they are paid to answer only specific calls and complaints and are not paid patrol mileage so that they may prevent crime.

The fourteen judicial districts of Fresno County correspond almost exactly with townships, and as a matter of fact, were called "townships" until a very few years ago. The constables in these judicial districts are elected officials and answer to no central county agency. Mr. James Long, of the Fresno County Sheriff's Office told the interviewer that the constables are largely untrained individuals who do not participate in the training sessions which Fresno County regularly holds for peace officers in spite of continued invitation to do so.

To summarize, the constables of the judicial districts do not patrol their respective areas because they are on an "On Call" basis and are not paid to patrol. If a major crime is committed, the investigation is turned over to the Sheriff's Office where suitable manpower and administrative and technical aids are available. Naturally, there is usually a lapse of some time between the time a crime is committed and a Sheriff's Officer arrives on the scene. The County Board of Supervisors determines the amount of mileage which shall be paid to the various constables.

The following is a list of the judicial districts, other than the Fresno Metropolitan area, and the number of constables and deputies currently employed by each:

District	Constables	Deputies
Caruthers	1	-
Clovis	1	1
Coalinga	1	1
Dunlap	1	1
Firebaugh	1	2
Fowler	1	-
Kerman	1	2
Kingsburg	1	-
Parlier	1	1
Ponderosa	1	1
Reedley	1	1
Riverdale	1	2
Sanger	1	1
Selma	1	1

As was previously mentioned, there are also fourteen incorporated areas which have city police departments. These areas include Clovis, Coalinga, Firebaugh, Fowler, Huron, Kerman, Kingsburg, Mendota, Orange Cove, Parlier, Reedley, Sanger, San Joaquin, and Selma. A look at a map of Fresno County will immediately indicate that there are many small urban communities and "slum-cities" which must depend entirely upon the constables and the Sheriff's Office for police protection.

The Sheriff's Office, according to Under-Sheriff Long, needs an additional ten men properly to police the fringe areas of metropolitan Fresno, and is far short of having enough men and equipment to patrol the whole county. As a matter of fact, there is only one car patrolling areas other than the fringe areas of the city of Fresno. This car spends one night a week in each of the other areas. Bearing in mind that only fourteen urban areas have city police, and that constables are not paid patrol mileage, a significant portion of the county has a peace officer patrolling only once a week. Under-Sheriff Long estimates that the Sheriff's Office would require an additional twenty-eight men and the corresponding equipment adequately to police the entire county.

The Sheriff's Office is well aware of the situation which exists, and it has apparently been an issue for some time. The Under-Sheriff, Mr. Long, feels that the best solution to the problem would be to take the constable out of the picture entirely by stopping the payments of criminal mileage, confining him to his judicial functions. He would be replaced by resident Sheriff's Deputies who would have the training, equipment, and jurisdiction necessary to do an adequate job. Mr. Long feels that the additional initial expense for equipment and men would be more than equaled by the long run savings. At one time, in 1952, the Sheriff's Office did establish resident deputies, but an unfortunate political incident occurred (a previous sheriff was indicted for malfeasance) and the Board of Supervisors, losing confidence, requested that the resident deputies be brought back into the main office, and the constables were given criminal mileage to replace them. Mr. Long pointed out that Fresno was one of only three counties in the state which operates under the "dual-jurisdiction" plan which he personally regards as hopelessly archaic, and which produces the "poorest sort of law enforcement presently in existence."

Ethnic Group:

FRESNO MIGRANT STUDY
INTERVIEW OUTLINE FOR DAY HAUL WORKERS

1. VITAL STATISTICS

A. Man ____
(Surname) (Given Name)

Place of Birth ____________________ Date Birth ________

B. Woman ____
(Maiden Name) (Given Name)

Place of Birth ____________________ Date Birth ________

C. Children:

	Name	Date Birth	Place Of Birth	Grade Completed
(1)				
(2)				
(3)				
(4)				
(5)				
(6)				
(7)				
(8)				
(9)				
(10)				

D. Address ____
(House Number, Street, Town, Labor Camp, or Ranch: Do Not Accept Post Office Box Number).

Location if no street address available:

C. Marital Status: Married? ____________ Single? ________

(1) Previous Marriages:

Man:

Woman:

(2) Is man living with wife and family? ____________

D. Languages Spoken:

II. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

A. Grade Completed Man________________Woman________________

B. Special Vocational Training:

(1) Man:

(2) Woman:

C. List any Job Skills:

(1) Is farm labor main occupation or stop gap?

(2) What are the advantages of farm work?

(3) What are the disadvantages of farm work?

(4) Is farm work preferred? Why?

(5) Is Day Haul usual method of seeking work?

(6) Are jobs obtained directly from farmer or from contractor?

III. RESIDENCE

A. How Long in Fresno County?______________In Calif?________

B. Does he move from state to state?

Last state in which he resided________________________

C. Does he move about within California?

Last County in which he resided________________________

D. Does he move about within county?

E. How many houses occupied since moving to California?

F. Prefer to move or to settle down? Why?

G. How many rooms in present home?

H. Does he live in a rented room or does he rent a bed?

I. Is he satisfied with his present residence or would he prefer to move?

If he would prefer to live elsewhere why doesn't he move?

IV. PROPERTY

A. Automobile? Yes_______No_______Year and Make_____________

B. Home or other real property; rent or buying

V. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

I - FACE SHEET

Last Name__________ Language Spoken M __________ W __________ Ethnic Group M ______ W ______

Address__________ Date came to California M __________ W __________

Marital Status__________

Date of marriage__________ Date came to Fresno Co. M __________ W __________

Place of marriage__________

Previous marriages__________

FAMILY:

	Name (First)	Birthdate	Birthplace	School grade Completed
Informant				
Spouse				
Children				

OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD:	Name	Age	Relationship to informant

HOME: Rent __________ Buying ______ Rent free ______

(Description - e.g., number of rooms, type of house, condition, etc.)___

AUTOMOBILE: Yes _____ No _____ Year and make__________

REAL PROPERTY: Yes _____ No _____ Description__________

II - GENERAL AREAS

- A. Work - Employment and Economic History
- B. Home and Family Living
- C. Courtship, Marriage, Children
- D. Education
- E. Leisure Time and Recreation
- F. Ethical and Moral Ideas and Training - and Religion

II - GENERAL AREAS

A. Work - Employment and Economic History

1. Total work history including age at which working began, skills, job training, job experience.
2. Employment pattern and economic condition of family of orientation.
3. Types of work preferred or desired, etc.
4. Approximate levels of income--family of orientation, own family throughout marriage.
5. Do children work?

B. Home and Family Living

1. Family of orientation and of own marriage.
2. Who in family responsible for earning income? For spending income?
3. Who carries responsibility for care of children? For discipline?
4. For care of house? For cooking? For shopping? Favorite foods?
5. Sibling relationships? Relationships to larger family?
6. How much moving as child and adult?
7. Friendships--does family have any special long time friends?

C. Courtship, Marriage, Children

1. What was the pattern of meeting and eventual marriage? Was there an engagement period, etc.? Married in church or civil ceremony? Was parental consent sought?
2. Dating pattern--how soon married after meeting?
3. Expectations for own children?
4. Who disciplines the children? How?
5. Who does the shopping?
6. Is affection shown in the family? How?

II - GENERAL AREAS

D. Education

1. Both formal and informal, number of years in school, preferred subjects. How did he like school, sports, or other activities.

2. How about since school--newspapers, reading, library, TV shows, etc.

3. What are educational aims for own children? What does he know about his children's school? PTA or other activities?

4. Registered to vote?

E. Leisure Time and Recreation

1. Is there time for recreation? Do family members do things together, sports, TV, movies, or what?

2. Do parents have any chance to go places or visit or whatever without children, etc.?

3. Any hobbies pursued by family members? By whom? Any gardening?

4. What do children do? Any chance for organized group activities--Scouts, etc.? Did parents do these things as children?

5. Parents any membership in social, church, or work groups of any kind?

F. Ethical and Moral Ideas and Training - and Religion

1. Church membership, frequency of attendance, how much does church satisfy social purposes?

2. Are children attending church school or getting any religious training, ethical training, or any effort to teach values?

3. How about during own childhood? Did father lay down law on right and wrong?

4. What seems to be parent's ideas of right and wrong? Are children punished for stealing? For lying? What else? Who punishes?

5. Are children segregated by sex in sleeping arrangements? In play?

FRESNO MIGRANT STUDY--DAY HAUL SURVEY

(Figures are percentages)

Age of Adults

	under 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & over	not known
ANGLO	x	x	9.5	42.9	31.	16.7	x
MA	7.5	12.5	30.	27.5	17.5	5.0	x
NEGRO	1.8	7.1	30.3	35.7	19.7	3.6	1.8

Age of Children

	under 2	2-4	5-7	8-11	12-14	15-17	18-20	21-30	31-40	not known
ANGLO	x	2.5	2.5	5.0	7.5	10.0	12.5	30.5	25.0	x
MA	5.9	4.5	7.4	9.0	10.4	9.0	7.4	16.4	4.5	26.9
NEGRO	1.3	9.0	2.6	20.5	15.4	13.0	20.5	13.0	4.0	1.3

Number of Children

	none	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8
ANGLO	50	40.5	9.5		
MA	40.5	30.0	10.0	10.0	5.0
NEGRO	48.2	23.2	23.2	3.6	1.8

School Grade Completed--Children

	too young	k-1	2-3	4-5	6-7	8-9	10-12	13-14	15-16	not known
ANGLO	2.5	2.6	2.5	x	5.0	7.5	42.5	7.5	20.0	10.0
MA	13.5	3.0	9.0	3.0	4.5	18.0	21.0	1.5	x	27.0
NEGRO	9.9	2.5	5.0	11.1	17.3	12.5	25.0	3.7	x	13.6

Place of Birth--Children

	Calif.	Ariz.	Tex.	Mex.	Okla.	Mo.	Ill.	Mich.	Other	not known
ANGLO	27.5	x	10.0	x	7.5	x	x	x	55.0	x
MA	68.2	8.3	8.3	6.6	x	x	x	x	3.2	5.0
NEGRO	39.5	x	11.8	x	2.6	7.9	5.3	5.3	20.1	x

DAY HAUL SURVEY (continued)

Place of Birth--Adults

	Ark.	Ariz.	Calif.	Tex.	Penn.	N. Mex.	La.	Okla.	Mex.	other
ANGLO	9.5	x	4.7	19.0	5.4	x	x	x	x	52.8
MA	x	12.5	22.5	27.5	x	10.0	x	x	22.5	5.0
NEGRO	8.9	x	x	34.0	x	x	21.4	12.5	x	21.5

School Grade Completed--Adults

	none	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	11-12	13-14	15-16
ANGLO	x	2.4	x	4.8	40.5	16.7	28.6	5.0	4.8
MA	15.0	7.5	15.0	10.0	22.5	20.0	7.5	2.5	x
NEGRO	1.8	x	10.7	12.5	25.0	19.7	19.7	5.4	5.4

Address

	rural	hotel or flophouse	other urban Fresno	other (than Fresno) urban	mission	no residence
ANGLO	2.4	71.4	4.8	4.8	2.4	14.3
MA	2.5	52.5	37.5	2.5	2.6	2.5
NEGRO	x	66.1	30.4	x	x	3.5

Marriage

	married	single	widower	divorced or separated
ANGLO	5.3	20.9	11.6	58.1
MA	32.5	47.5	2.5	30.0
NEGRO	34.0	33.8	1.8	30.4

Previous Marriages

	Yes	No
ANGLO	23.8	76.2
MA	10.0	90.0
NEGRO	28.6	71.4

DAY HAUL SURVEY (continued)

Residence

	no residence	rent bed	own or buying home	rent room	rent house
ANGLO	9.8	19.5	2.5	62.0	7.2
MA	5.0	x	5.0	70.0	22.5
NEGRO	x	7.2	12.5	53.6	27.8

Satisfied with Residence

	Yes	No
ANGLO	57.1	42.9
MA	65.0	35.0
NEGRO	69.7	30.3

Number of Rooms in Present Residence

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	no residence
ANGLO	52.4	4.8	2.5	2.5	2.5	x	5.0	x	30.9
MA	40.0	15.0	17.5	12.5	5.0	2.5	x	2.5	5.0
NEGRO	44.7	17.9	12.5	8.9	7.2	3.6	x	x	3.6

Number of Houses Occupied in California

	none	1	2-3	4	5	6	7	8	9	ten or more
ANGLO	52.4	19.5	4.8	2.4	4.8	x	x	2.5	x	x
MA	10.0	5.0	37.5	17.5	12.5	10.0	2.5	x	x	5.0
NEGRO	3.6	14.3	25.0	7.2	8.9	5.4	1.8	3.6	x	30.5

Prefer to Move or Settle

	Move	Settle
Anglo	4.7	95.3
MA	2.5	97.5
NEGRO	10.7	89.3

Living with Family

	Yes	No
ANGLO	2.4	97.6
MA	35.0	65.0
NEGRO	26.8	73.2

DAY HAUL SURVEY (continued)

Time in Frésno County (Years)

	less than year	1-2	3-4	5-10	11-20	21-30	over 30
ANGLO	50.0	9.5	2.5	2.5	20.0	11.5	2.4
MA	22.5	7.5	15.0	12.5	20.0	12.5	10.0
NEGRO	26.8	10.7	19.7	19.7	12.5	8.9	1.8

Time in California

	less than year	1-2	3-4	5-10	11-20	21-30	over 30
ANGLO	5.3	9.5	9.5	23.5	23.8	16.7	14.3
MA	2.5	2.5	12.5	7.5	32.5	12.5	30.0
NEGRO	8.9	7.2	8.9	17.9	32.2	21.4	3.6

Move to Follow Work

	no	within co.	within state	other states
ANGLO	7.0	7.2	23.8	50.0
MA	22.5	10.0	67.5	2.5
NEGRO	17.9	21.4	35.7	25.0

Seek Aid

	welfare	mission	not needed or not sought	no idea	friends
ANGLO	x	84.6	15.4	x	x
MA	15.0	7.0	51.5	21.5	x
NEGRO	11.4	13.7	9.1	4.5	20.5

Discrimination

	affected	not affected
ANGLO	50.0	50.0
MA	57.5	42.5
NEGRO	60.9	39.1

DAY HAUL SURVEY (continued)

Approximate Daily Wages (Gross)

	$4-5	$5-6	$6-7	$7-8	$9-10	$12 and over
ANGLO	9.8	9.8	35.7	12.5	12.4	2.5*
MA	33.3	21.2	30.3	3.0	3.0	3.0*
NEGRO	5.0	2.5	32.5	33.3	25.0	5.0*

*are bus drivers

Prefer Farm Work

	Yes	No
ANGLO	42.9	57.1
MA	42.5	57.5
NEGRO	32.1	67.9

Day Haul Usual Method of Employment

	Yes	No
ANGLO	95.3	4.7
MA	62.5	37.5
NEGRO	96.4	3.6

Obtain Jobs from Contractors

	Yes	No
ANGLO	95.3	4.7
MA	97.5	2.5
NEGRO	96.4	3.6

Farm Labor Office

	helps	does not help	no knowledge
ANGLO	25.0	58.3	16.7
MA	20.0	45.7	34.3
NEGRO	30.2	27.9	41.9

Social Security

	not deducted	name and number taken	name and number not always taken
ANGLO	5.9	29.4	64.7
MA	5.5	33.3	75.0
NEGRO	7.2	62.5	30.3

DAY HAUL SURVEY (continued)

	English only	plus Span.	plus Italian	plus Swedish	plus German	plus Slavic	Span. only	other
ANGLO	65.5	14.3	2.0	4.8	2.4	2.4		9.0
MA		72.5					27.5	
NEGRO	92.9	5.4						1.8

Automobile

	Yes	No
ANGLO	6.1	92.9
MA	15.0	85.0
NEGRO	25.0	75.0

Special Vocational Training

	Yes	No
ANGLO	52.4	47.6
MA	15.0	85.0
NEGRO	39.3	60.7

Farm Labor Main Occupation

	main occupation	temporary
ANGLO	83.3	16.7
MA	75.0	25.0
NEGRO	50.0	50.0

DAY HAUL SURVEY (continued)

Advantages to Farm Labor--Anglo

1. none - 16
2. paid daily - 1
3. independent - 5
4. meet friends - 1
5. outside work - 15
6. time off when wanted - 1
7. healthy work - 5
8. necessary - 7
9. interesting - 3
10. satisfying - 5
11. can usually work - 1
12. accustomed to it - 1
13. keeps one from bumming - 1
14. travel - 1
15. all that many know - 1

Advantages to Farm Labor--MA

1. none - 29
2. pay is fair - 2
3. left alone by supervision - 4
4. enjoyable - 5
5. can't do anything else - 7
6. healthy work - 1
7. always handy - 1

Advantages to Farm Labor--Negro

1. none - 32
2. satisfying - 7
3. profitable - 2
4. outside, healthy work - 9
5. accustomed to it - 5
6. left alone by bosses - 4
7. don't need any education - 1
8. paid daily - 1
9. can't do anything else - 3
10. no walking - 1
11. not complicated - 3
12. necessary - 1
13. travel - 1
14. usually available - 1

DAY HAUL SURVEY (continued)

Disadvantages of Farm Labor--Anglo

1. wages too low - 35
2. can't save - 1
3. hours too long - 13
4. too much pressure from bosses - 3
5. unsanitary conditions - 6
6. boring - 2
7. no future - 2
8. not enough rest - 1
9. spend too much time waiting - 7
10. live like animals - 3
11. cheated by contractors - 19
12. weather too great a factor - 1
13. poor food - 10
14. contractors sell wine - 8
15. too far to go - 4
16. contractors use pace setters- 3
17. no minimum wage - 2
18. not steady - 5
19. too much drinking - 2
20. too much competition - 6
21. transportation unsafe - 11
22. food too expensive - 10
23. poor equipment - 3
24. no benefits - 2
25. ranches too large - 1
26. can't work for farmer - 5
27. too much gambling - 2
28. treated like bums - 1

Disadvantages of Farm Labor--MA

1. low wages - 37
2. long hours - 17
3. work too hard - 6
4. travel too far - 2
5. cheated by contractors - 10
6. mistreated by contractors - 13
7. unsanitary conditions - 11
8. too much drinking - 1
9. no vacation - 1
10. no benefits - 2
11. discrimination - 2
12. none - 3
13. not steady - 6
14. unsafe buses - 3
15. poor working conditions - 1
16. contractors selling wine - 1

Disadvantages of Farm Labor--Negro

1. none - 2
2. cheated by contractors - 25
3. poor treatment by contractor - 7
4. competition from nationals - 1
5. low wages - 50
6. hours too long - 14
7. unsanitary conditions - 5
8. not paid while waiting - 2
9. up too early - 10
10. no benefits - 2
11. too hard - 6
12. monopoly by contractors - 1
13. travel too far - 2
14. too much walking - 1
15. work not steady - 1
16. unsafe buses - 2
17. no future - 2
18. illiterate contractors - 1

DAY HAUL SURVEY (continued)

Job Skills--Anglo

1. none - 1
2. carpenter - 8
3. diesel mechanic - 2
4. lathe operator - 1
5. sawmill - 2
6. miner - 2
7. machine operator - 1
8. butcher - 1
9. janitor - 1
10. railroad - 3
11. dairy and cheese - 1
12. seaman - 1
13. electrician - 2
14. truck driver - 9
15. sewing machine mechanic - 1
16. tractor driver - 7
17. washing machine mechanic - 1
18. millwright - 1
19. cook - 4
20. construction - 1
21. painter - 3
22. logger - 1
23. shoe repairman - 1
24. gardener - 1
25. driller - 1
26. tool and die maker - 1
27. mechanical brick layer opr. - 1
28. mechanic - 5
29. sheet rock taper - 1
30. clerk - 1
31. welder - 2
32. grocery store manager - 1
33. hotel clerk - 1
34. drill operator - 1
35. riveter - 1
36. punch press operator - 1
37. filling station - 1
38. bulldozer operator - 1
39. plumber - 11
40. shipping clerk - 1
41. plasterer - 1
42. shingler - 1
43. blacksmith - 1
44. body and fender man - 1

Job Skills--MA

1. farm machinery operator - 22
2. prune - 20
3. irrigation - 1
4. painter - 1
5. truck driver - 4
6. melon packer - 1
7. mining machinist - 1
8. lithographer - 1
9. clerk - 1
10. butcher - 1
11. carpenter - 1
12. lumber mill - 1
13. railroad section gang - 1
14. fruit thinner - 1
15. auto mechanic - 1
16. welder - 1

Job Skills--Negro

1. none - 15
2. gunsmith - 1
3. truck driver - 5
4. welder - 3
5. carpenter - 6
6. plumber - 2
7. builder - 2
8. lumber yard - 1
9. tire recapping - 1
10. blue printer - 1
11. punch press operator - 1
12. mechanic - 2
13. car upholsterer - 1
14. septic tank builder - 1
15. brick layer - 1
16. tailor - 1
17. barber - 1
18. painter - 2
19. cement finisher - 3
20. power shovel operator - 1
21. pipe fitter - 1
22. laundry worker - 2
23. butcher - 1
24. water meter installer - 1
25. janitor - 3
26. labor contractor - 1
27. cook - 2
28. driller - 1
29. shoe repair - 2
30. construction worker - 5

Report of an interview with Lloyd Dowler, Clarence Jensen, and George Ilg of the Agriculture Division at Fresno State College, May 25, 1959

As to the future of agriculture in this area, these men feel the intention of the farmers is to reduce the labor force to a mimimum. In order to do this, more and more use will be made of machinery in the harvesting of all crops. They mentioned that a machine now cuts apricots and peaches and puts them on the trays. Another machine tops sugar beets and a conveyor loads them for shipping. Another machine can sort lemons as to size and color. A machine is also used to turn raisin trays in the vineyards.

They feel that before long all walnuts, almonds, and figs will be picked by vacuum pickers thus eliminating the stoop labor of gathering them off the ground. In crops, such as lettuce, the packing-shed operation has been e entirely eliminated. The same thing could be done in the harvesting of fruit.

However, in order for some crops to be harvested mechanically, new varieties of the plants have to be developed. Geneticists and engineers are working together on this problem. At the present time, a new strain of tomatoes is being developed in which the whole crop will ripen at one time thus requiring only one picking instead of two or three. Geneticists and engineers are also working on the technique of spraying trees to thin the fruit. This has not been perfected as yet for such things as wind conditions and moisture affect the spraying.

Mr. Jensen feels that the big manufacturers of machinery will be reluctant to build some of these specialized machines because the demand for some of them would be too limited. Therefore, the small-job shop will have to take over the building of these machines. On the other hand, he says the demand for cotton picking machines is so great four or five large companies now build them.

Since so many people agree that complete mechanization is coming rapidly, Mr. Dowler was asked to make a prediction as to when this would occur. He predicted that in another ten years it would be greatly increased. The speed with which it occurs will depend on how fast new strains of crops can be adapted to the machines and also what hourly rate of pay the farmers will have to pay their laborers in the future. If pay rates go up, mechanization will come faster. The rate of pay will depend a great deal on the supply of workers. He pointed out that Arizona can get workers for less pay than California can.

Mr. Dowler also feels that if more water is brought to the West Side, then more crops will be produced and the demand for hand labor could very well increase. In fact, he feels that even though the need for hand labor has been less and less each year, there still will be a need for hand labor for the next fifty years. Mr. Jensen pointed out the need for skilled workers will become greater as mechanization moves in.

All three men agreed that an increasing proportion of people engaged in agriculture will incorporate. They sighted such corporations as Kern County Land Company and Boston Land Company. Valley Nitrogen Producers is one corporation near Fresno that is developing rapidly. Mr. Dowler feels that with this type of organization will come the need for more services such as truck driving and loading and handling of produce. These services will create work for hand laborers.

Report of an Interview with Mr. Jack Wolff, Business Manager of Giffen Ranch at Five Points, California, on May 5, 1959

The following are general comments made by Mr. Wolff during the interview: At one time, the Giffen Ranch had ten labor camps consisting of 100 to 200 units to each camp--making a total of approximately 2,000 units. These units were army huts, 16' x 16' in size. There were central showers and central latrines. Most of the camps had a grocery store. It required twenty to twenty-five men at a cost of $50,000 a year to maintain the camps. There were numerous complaints from the Division of Housing and criticism from other people about the camps. There were problems that required calling the constable from the Coalinga district. As each camp had a contractor in charge of it, it was the duty of the contractor to move the troublemakers out of his camp. Each contractor had a person referred to as the "Camp Boss" in each camp.

Mr. Wolff was of the opinion that the laborers liked the camps in spite of the adverse conditions. He spoke especially of Camp 29, the first really big camp. Here the contractor ran a pool hall and a cafe and the place had the reputation of being "rough." This seemed to attract the laborers, However, as mechanization ended the need for great numbers of cotton pickers, bulldozers were brought in to tear down the camps. The laborers moved to Huron, Hanford, and the outskirts of Fresno. Mr. Wolff said they were now living in conditions much worse than the camps.

At the present time, about 500 of these people are needed for clean-up work in the cotton fields. They are brought in by bus during this time. Last year out of 11,000 acres of cotton, they picked about five percent of the crop and the balance was mechanically harvested. As work slackens after clean-up work, Mr. Wolff said the Negroes were the first to starve and go for relief, the Anglos next, and three weeks later the Mexican-Americans would go.

The Giffen Ranch now employs 300 permanent people. These are irrigation men, tractor drivers, and supervisors. All of them live on the ranch. Their houses are rent free with water and electricity furnished. (Note: We noticed well kept lawns, shade trees, shrubbery, a swimming pool and playground for these permanent employees.) A good many of these people are from the Dustbowl of Texas and Oklahoma and have been with the Giffen Ranch for twenty years. Mr. Wolff commented that many of the Dustbowl people have bought from forty to eighty-acre ranches for themselves. Others work as ranch foremen on the West Side. There is some turnover among the permanent employees. They employ all the Mexican-Americans they can. They have found the Negroes tend to move--drifting to Helm and Riverdale. Mr. Wolff said he would not object to the Staff obtaining interviews from the permanent people on the ranch.

When laborers are brought in for weeding or clean-up work, they are obtained through a contractor. There are numerous contractors competing for men. The contractors get the measurements of the fields, a price is established for each row, and then a flat rate of 33 1/3 percent on top of the gross payroll is paid to the contractor. Out of this 33 1/3 percent, the contractor pays social security and compensation. Any employee can come to the office on the ranch and find out what the rate of pay is. Pay for chopping cotton runs about seven dollars a day. Mr. Wolff felt it was most unlikely that contractors take advantage of workers in any way.

With respect to the need for large numbers of hand laborers in the future, Mr. Wolff said he thought that when more water is available, the West Side would grow more vegetables, as well as tree and vine crops. These crops, he believes, will require handpickers. Although hand labor has dropped a lot in the past three to five years, the demand will increase with the growth of these crops. According to Mr. Wolff, in the growing of melons today, it has been found that in stoop labor the Mexican-Americans hold up better than Anglos or Negroes. He said the Giffen Ranch tended to be partial to the Mexican-Americans as laborers.

Report of an interview with Mr. Lee Parker, Assistant General Manager, and Mr. Barton Dale, Personnel Manager, at the Frank Coit Ranch, June 3, 1959

The Coit Ranch has 8,000 acres. About 2,600 acres are in melons. Cotton, (1,700 acres) alfalfa, and barley are also grown. All the barley and alfalfa are fed to 4,000 head of beef cattle on the ranch. Each year 5,000 pheasants are raised on the ranch, most of which are later turned loose on the Coit Ranch near Gilroy. There are two cotton gins and one feed-mixing mill. Building and repairing of all machinery is done in the big machine shop. Among the other buildings are a new cafeteria where three meals a day are served to single, male employees or to anyone else who cares to eat there. Last year there was a loss of $25,000 on this venture. A new bunk house has been built that sleeps 192 men. Future plans include a swimming pool and playground.

Harvesting the melon crop is the biggest problem on the ranch. The actual picking cannot be done by machine. The men gather the melons into wind-rows and a machine with a conveyor belt picks them up and loads them. This work is by the piece but the wage is never less than one dollar an hour. A crew of men works together. Their load is counted in crates and the pay divided equally among them. They will average eight to nine dollars a day. A crew tends to get rid of any slow worker until eventually all the slow men are in one crew. In picking melons it has been found that the Mexican-American can stand the heat of the sun better than Negroes or Anglos. However, not many of the younger generation of the Mexican-Americans are going into this work so most of the domestic pickers are forty years old or older. Braceros are used in the harvesting of melons. They make good help for they are here for only sixty to ninety days and want to make their stake in that length of time. Mr. Parker remarked that nine out of ten of these men have a marked nutritional deficiency when they arrive, but improve rapidly with three good meals a day. The regulations governing the use of Braceros state that they must be fed for $1.75 a day which helped to account for the loss of money in the cafeteria. Often the "domestics," as Mr. Parker called them, will leave after the first picking of melons and move on to another area of the country but the Braceros will stay. He referred to them as "willing" workers and considered them a necessity in picking melons. No laborers are obtained through labor contractors. Mr. Dale said, "Mr. Coit and Mr. Parker want people to get what is coming to them."

In the packing sheds a man can make as much as $100 a day. In sixty days many of them make from $4,000 to $5,000. When a husband and wife both work, their income can run between $8,000 and $10,000. Women are used for wrapping and for placing a small paper sticker on each melon. In two months, many of of them can make $2,500 at this work. The melon season starts in Mexico in December, moves to Texas in January, and ends in northern California. Most of the melon workers are from Arizona and return there when the season ends.

Domestic help is used for irrigating. The flood-type irrigating requires skilled men. This work pays ninety cents an hour. If pipe-type irrigating is used, the men move the pipes eight times a day and are paid $2.10 for each move--earning $16.80 a day.

Mr. Parker says Mr. Coit has good relations with his employees. He says Mr. Coit has no desire for personal wealth and wants satisfied employees. He seeks ways to keep the employees busy all year. To help provide year-around work, he has the men work in the machine shop repairing and building equipment used on the ranch. They also do repairing and building of the houses. Wintertime work is also provided in the factory where fishing rods are made. The fishing tackle idea came about as a result of a merchandising scheme for Coit melons. If a person submitted a certain number of stickers from Coit melons, he could get a fishing rod at a greatly reduced price. Although this type of work was referred to as a "small" operation on the ranch, it does help to provide year-around employment (but operates at a loss).

According to Mr. Parker, a master plan is being worked out on the ranch which will provide better living and working conditions for the employees. Some new houses are being built and some of the older ones are being painted and repaired at the present time. However, the chief obstacle to carrying out a building program, such as they have thought about, is the fact that they do not qualify for FHA loans and are not able to borrow hundreds of thousands of dollars at a low interest rate for a term of twenty or thirty years. A sewage disposal plant has been bought at a cost of $80,000. Some thought has been given to the idea of making the living area of the ranch into a small city but it has been estimated that it would cost $200,000 to provide roads and drainage for every fifty houses. In addition, there would be the cost of fire protection, police protection, etc.

The number of employees on the ranch runs from 125 to 700 people. At the present time, there are approximately 140 units of housing for the employees. About 74 units are in one camp (labeled "Mexican Camp" even though some Anglos live there too), 19 units in another camp, plus some apartments in Mendota. A few employees live in government housing in Firebaugh and Mr. Coit pays the rent for them. Between thirty and forty units are three, four, and five bedroom houses for the permanent employees. (Note: Some of the houses we saw for the permanent employees were new stucco houses and others were frame houses painted white. Most had lawns, some flowers, some shade trees. The "Mexican Camp" had the typical box-type cabin. All the privies will be eliminated as soon as the sewage disposal plant is completed.)

As to the future, if more water comes to the West Side, Mr. Parker feels the same crops will continue to be grown. He says more fruit is grown on the East Side now than can be marketed so there would be no point to growing more on the West Side. He feels that people who are not familiar with farming are the ones who advocate the 160-acre land limitation. However, if this limitation should be enforced, he says there would be many people who would not want to farm their 160 acres and then someone like Mr. Coit could lease these areas.

The Coit Ranch could also do business in the cotton gins and the feed mill with the small farmers. He mentioned they could also go into the hardware business and buy and sell machinery to the small farmers.

Several times during the interview Mr. Parker said, "We are proud of our operation and quality of product."